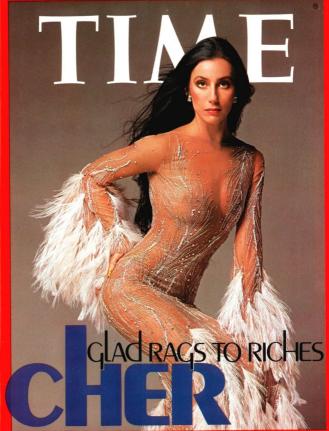
75 CENTS MARCH 17, 1975





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Midnight. February 27. A fire in "Thirteen"—one of the world's largest telephone switching installations—knocks more than 170,000 telephones out of service. (Enough phones to serve an entire city like Youngstown, Ohio.)

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Then, working day and night, New York Telephone, along with Bell System manufacturing, supply and research people, and teamed with other Bell Telephone Companies up and down the Eastern Seaboard, begins the task of returning service to more than a quarter-million people.

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One Bell System. It works. Even under fire.



A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

The performing arts and the popular idols they generate have long been a primary interest of TIME's prolific Contributor Richard Schickel. Since 1960 he has written twelve books, including The Stars and His Picture in the Papers, both explorations of Hollywood's glittery "star syndrome." Schickel's soon-to-be-released volume, The Men Who Made the Movies, is based on his series of interviews with eight eminent film directors written, produced and directed for public television. LIFE's movie critic from 1965 to 1972, Schickel has reviewed both movies and television for TIME since then. This week he draws on his wide experience in adding his first TIME cover story to his list of credits. "Cher," he says, "is a TV creature. Such stars are what-

ever you think they are. It's especially interesting to figure out what they mean inside your

own head.

Catching the TV creature off-camera was no easy task. In Los Angeles, Correspondent Leo Janos got hold of Cher on a rare day off and spent 101/2 hours with the slinky singer at her Holmby Hills mansion. Jess Cook drew some candid comments from Sonny Bono while David DeVoss interviewed Bono's successors, David Geffen and Current Beau Greg Allman. Patricia Delaney filled out Cher's life story by speaking with her mother, Georgia Holt.



SCHICKEL

SHIFLDS

В

C

In stark contrast to the world of Cher, TIME's Economy and Business section this week takes a long look at unemployment. Senior Editor Marshall Loeb wrote the story, assisted by Reporter-Researchers Sue Raffety and Sarah Button in addition to correspondents and stringers across the country. From Washington, National Economics Correspondent John Berry and Correspondent John Stacks reported on the big picture: how the economy and unemployment affect each other; who the people are that make up the swelling army of 7.5 million jobless Americans; what role the Government plays.

In New York City, Correspondent Eileen Shields canvassed economists, business leaders, psychologists and sociologists. She also talked with the out-of-work at unemployment and wel-

fare offices, at a club for middle-aged job seekers, and even on the Bowery. "Some people are ashamed to talk," she reports, "but others tell you their life stories. Some leave their phone numbers, just in case I might hear of an opening." Shields, who holds a master's degree in Foreign Service from Georgetown University, joined TIME as a Business reporter-researcher in 1969 and became a correspondent in 1973. Unemployment, she finds, is not only a demanding and depressing journalistic beat, but also a matter of personal concern. "Unfortunately," she says, "it's easy to find candidates to report about-just among my friends.



		INDEX
over Story56 olor71	& Business19 Education74	Press82 Religion78 Science80
rt70 ehavior88 ooks84 inema4	Environment	Show Business & Television5 Theater73 World31
	Nation6	770100

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EX-P.O.W. AT HOMECOMING

CINEMA

War-Torn

HEARTS AND MINDS
Directed by PETER DAVIS

Procrustes was a mythic giant with a notorious bed. If his guests were too short, he stretched them to fit. If they were too tall, he chopped off the excess. In Hearts and Minds, the giant is impersonated by the film makers. The bed is the film itself.

Beginning with the noblest of motives—examination of the roots and consequences of the Viet Nam War—this vigorous, chaotic documentary manipvigorous, chaotic documentary maniping of Haiphong harbor, John Foster Dulles' domino theory, J. Edgar Hoover's fears of "common-sist," a brutal to back and forth like sand in an hourjass. The confisson is deliberate. Hearts to the property of the property of the proteer Davis, "is not a chronology of var to so much as a study of people's feelings."

Yet without chronology there can be no perspective, and without perspective there is no history. The viewer is thus left with a winding gallery of glimpses. Some of those glimpses are indelible. The late Georges Bidault, ex-Premier of France, remembers the time before the fall of Dien Bien Phu: "John Foster Dulles asked me, 'And if we were to give you two atomic bombs?' " An intelligence officer recalls the distaste American soldiers had for mutilating bodies. Instead of terrorizing North Vietnamese with human eyes stuck on the back of a corpse (a psy-war trick), the Americans made do with the "eye" of the CBS logo. The camera's harrowing examination of soldiers and beggars, of coffinmakers and grieving fathers, displays an abiding sense of pity and outrage

But when the camera swings to the Anglo-Saxon side of the Pacific, compassion is jettisoned. That football game. for instance: manifestly the scrimmage is seen as a microcosm of American platitudes. But if sport so accurately reflects a society, what are we to say of the Indians' bloody game of lacrosse? Or the Latin American madness for soccer? The film's visits to Middle America strive for irony and, often, emerge as smugness or crass caricature. An ex-P.O.W.'s return to New Jersey is played against a background of red-white-andblue-blooded patriots and wide-eyed schoolchildren. The camera, which amply records the agonies of South Vietnamese political prisoners, seems uninterested in the American lieutenant's experience of humiliation and torture.

Yellow Peril. Even on unassailable territory, Hearts and Minds cannot let hell enough alone. When General Westmoreland makes the infamous statement that the Oriental does not prize life as highly as the Westerner, the footage is juxtaposed with a sequence of weeping Vietnamese as a body is lowered into the parched earth. Weaker still is the film's examination of popular culture. Clips are offered from the 1942 film Bataan, from Bob Hope movies and American Legion war games of the Mc-Carthy epoch. These imply that motion pictures are instruments of behavioral conditioning; we fought the Viet Nam War because the screen trained us to hate the Red Menace and the Yellow Peril. The notion that films so easily mold an audience trivializes evil.

Nations and wars are too complex for such simplism. Hearts and Minds discounts those who were genuinely confused or frightened by Communism, and who were being used by McCarthy and his cohort. It minimizes or patronizes those for whom patriotism was more than the fatuous wearing of a flag in a lapel, yet never understood why their sons were sent off to die. On occasion. it brilliantly illustrates America's grievous misunderstanding and savage oversimplification of the Viet Nam War. But. oversimplifying itself, it dismisses those who perceived the intricacies of history, who refused to condone totalitarianism simply because they loathed our Viet Nam intervention Historical events

WAR VICTIM IN HEARTS & MINDS



like the Korean War, are soon lost in this cinematic shuffle. Attempts at temporal sequence are left to a sentimental Daniel Ellsberg and an unregenerate Walt Rostow *

Throughout, Hearts and Minds displays more than enough heart. It is mind that is missing. Perhaps the deepest flaw lies in the method: the Viet Nam War is too convoluted too devious to be examined in a style of compilation without comment. And righteous indignation may tend to blind the documentary film maker to his prime task: the representation of life in all its fullness, not only those incidents that conform to his thesis. Peter Davis is the talented creator of much-prized TV documentaries (Hunger in America, The Selling of the Pentagon). But these were simpler projects on a smaller screen. The subject and scope of the Southeast Asian conflict are too large for such narrow-gauge examination. Unhappily, the war has not yet finished exacting its terrible penalties and distortions. Like so many before it, the procrustean Hearts and Minds began as a warrior; it ends as a casualty. Stefan Kanfer

At Sea in Manhattan

THE PRISONER OF SECOND AVENUE
Directed by MELVIN FRANK

Screenplay by NEIL SIMON

On the inauspicious occasion of this movie's debut, condolences again to the great Anne Bancroft. There has been, recently, a spate of movies about women —Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore. The Stepford Wiese, A Woman Luder the Influence—which has led to the suggestion that at last the American cinema is losing its masculine bias, that now there are lots of good roles for women and the actresses may be there, but the parts are not. Why would Anne Bancroft be in this movie otherwise?

Bancroft is one of the very best ac-

tresses in America. She has power and passion that she never forces, a directness that is always startling and, at its best, pure. She also has a fugitive sensuality that she knows how to use (as in The Graduate) and, whenever necessary, to turn off. By exact measure, she gets to use one-half an erg of all this talent in The Prisoner of Second Avenue.

Apparently she was recruited to lend a little weight to a mean, shallow and in-different enterprise. The Prisoner of Section of Arente is a listless enterous-break-down farce, adapted by Neil Simon from his play about the traumas and indig-nities of living in Manhattan. Jack Lemon, unwired and wrung out, appears as an ad executive who loses his job and proceeds to crack under all the usual New York tensions, from unruly cab drivers to walls that crack like eggshells,

*Rostow recently sued, unsuccessfully, to stop exhibition of the film, claiming that, through tricky editing, he was quoted out of context.

TIME, MARCH 17, 1975

Scandinavia. She could make you leave home.

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She's a park that's a museum, a museum that's a park.



Stroll through the world's largest art museum, Frogner Park in Oslo. Here, over an 80-acre expanse, you'll see Gustav Vigeland's extraordinary sculptures, testifying to the indomitable spirit of man.

She's the fragrance of apple blossoms in bloom above her awesome fjords.

Smell the salt sea air mingle with the scent of apple blossoms as you sall through Norway's majestic Hardangerflord. Alop the towering cliffs you'll find rich farmland overrun with lush foliage, riotously colored fields of flowers and fruit orchards.



She's the sun shining at midnight on the 15th green.



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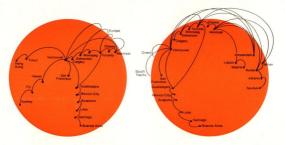
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from vicious neighbors to violence in Central Park. Bancroft plays his wife, loving and impatient and reasonably brave, who sees him through the crisis and begins to pick up some of his anxieties.

The movie is blank, unimaginative think of every joke you have heard about New York over the the decade and here it is—and Bancyton decade make much of the bits and scraps she is given. She is misdirected by Melvin Frank (4 Touch of Class) to underline cartoon New York mannerisms a threatened rasp in the volce that can easily within that Nysteria, a battery of body movements that look like preliminaries for infantry combat.

Still, there are moments when Bancroft breaks through. They are fleeting, almost incidental, but when they come upon us, they are a melancholy reminder of what we are all missing. Most memorably there is the instant when the wife first realizes that her husband is moving beyond ill temper into breakdown. "Oh God, Mel," she says, "I'm so sorry," comforting him in a rush of feeling that is the truest thing in the movie.

The Big Gouge

THE STREET FIGHTER
Directed by S. OZAWA
Screenplay by KOJI TAKADA
and STEVE AUTRY

This might have passed for just another ramshackle kung-fu import if it were not for the ad campaign, which promised "the first X-rated fight scenes in screen history." The M-P.A.A. is usually stern about sexual content, but almost carefree about violence. What about The Street Fighter could have raised the organization's ire?

Well, it could have been the sounds of dozens of bones crunching as the hero (Sonny Chiba) dispatched platons of hoodluns, or the blood that spured into the camera from mouths and noses. Maybe the eye gougings did it. Certainly, by the time Chiba attacked a wouldber appix—leveling him with a flying fist and tearing his privates off, doctorum and interest of the country of the co

Indeed, The Street Fighter has little less to offer in the way of novelly, save perhaps for Sonny Chiba, a stepchild of Jack Palance and Magog. The movie is Japanese in origin, not Chinese, as is customary, and contains some comic relief in the person of Chiba's chuschle-headed pal, culled Ratmose. Connois-headed pal, culled Ratmose. Connois-headed pal, culled Ratmose. Connois-to the dying Ratmose—giving his nost-trils a hearty but melancholy pull—with some guarded delight.



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THE NATION

AMERICAN NOTES

The Politics of Food

In response to the specter of hunger in many parts of the globe, the Democratic Congress last summer authorized the Republican Administration to make 4.5 million metric tons of U.S. food available to the world's undernourished millions. Yet despite the clear urgency of the need, so far only about one-third of the food has been shipped in the \$1.5 billion program, which ends on July 1. It seems a case of Samaritanism at an all too deliberate speed.

The delay has been caused by a familiar but no less forgivable one-two punch from domestic economics and politics. The Administration at first moved slowly as part of its effort to maintain food surpluses in the U.S. that would help drive down U.S. food prices and as low inflation. By January that process was succeeding, but by then Congress and the Administration were at odds over how the food should be distributed abroad.

Congress wanted the supplies to go primarily to the 32 countries designated by the United Nations as those "mostsevely affected" by famine, while the vertex of the state of t

ROSS'S GULL ON ONE OF THREE DAILY



The Visitation

For those who care about such matters the event was as electrifying as the descent of a Martian spaceship. Abed recovering from pneumonia, Paul Buckley, senior scientist for the National Park Service in Boston, promptly got up on hearing the news of the sighting and drove straightway to Salisbury, Mass. Four Maryland enthusiasts drove all night to the site. One businessman winged in from Los Angeles. Friends desperately tried to get word to an expert vacationing in Africa to return at once. As the week wore on, cars with an array of license plates from across the nation flocked to Salisbury. Battalions of observers armed with telescopes. cameras dwarfed by huge telephoto lenses, sketch pads and binoculars took up daily vigils. They lined the sea wall along one side of an estuary of the Merrimack River and the state beach opposite, eves trained on the mud flats below.

The cause of the commotion was the appearance of a single squat, unassuning, pigeon-like bird called a Ross's golf, which is almost never seen south which is almost never seen south of the Arctic Circle, and never before in the Arctic Circle, and never before in the notinental U.S. It was indeed present and, as if on cue, put on a show for the hundreds of bird watchers by feeding three times each day with a facel of Euclidean the common that the common three common that the common three common

How did the bird get so far south? Ornithologist Roger Tory Peterson speculates that it migrated across the top of Alaska to the mouth of the Mackenzie River in Canada, became separated from its own kind and took up with a colony of Bonaparte's gulls in their sumer breeding ground, then flow south with them last fall. Or perhaps it is the victim of a gull's version of an identity vertice of a light with the color Robert S. Arbib Jr. dryly: "He thinks he's a Bonaparte".

No Longer Thone Deaf

There once was a Congressman named Thone/ Whose last name rhymed with phone/ But he felt slightly forlorn/ When called Thane, Stone or Thorn/ Thus, the 'Congressional Pronunciation Guide' was born." The fractured versifier is Republican Representative Charles Thone of Nebraska, who has just issued a third edition of his phonetic congressional directory. The sixpage booklet was first suggested to Thone by a Nebraska radio announcer who was troubled by the frequent mispronunciation of political names over the air. Thone sent a questionnaire to every member of Congress, followed up with phone calls, and in 1971 issued his first pronunciation guide. Louisiana Congressman F. Edward Hébert shows up as (A-bear). Wisconsin Representative Henry Reuss as (ROYCE), Hawaiian Spark Matsunaga as (maht-sue-NAH-gah). Unfortunately, not all of Thone's colleagues are satisfied with the directory. Said one Congressman of Ohio's tyrannical Wayne Hays (HAYS) chairman of the House Administration committee: "You pronounce it King."





THE FORD ADMINISTRATION'S ZARB, GREENSPAN, SIMON & MORTON CONFER WITH WAYS & MEANS CHAIRMAN ALULLMAN AT HEARING LAST WEEK

THE ADMINISTRATION

Ford and Congress Reach a Compromise

The economy was the crisis that movered Americans Gerald Ford held his tenth per set of the control of the cont

Ford also decided last week to compromise with Congress on another matter. To avoid what he called "a timewasting test of strength," the President made a deal with the Democrats in which they agreed not to try to override his veto of legislation that would have postponed for 90 days his three-stage, \$3-per-bbl. hike in the tariff on imported oil. In exchange, Ford postponed for 60 days two-thirds of the increase-halting the \$1 that took effect on March 1 and putting off the \$1 scheduled for April 1. Still in effect is the \$1 that has cost oil importers an estimated \$160 million since Feb. 1. The agreement thus gives Ford and the Democrats about two months to come up with a long-range program to reduce U.S. dependence on imported oil, which now accounts for 37% of the nation's fuel consumption.

At the same time, Ford wrung a promise from Democratic leaders to try to persuade rank-and-file congressional Democrats to separate a controversial provision repealing the oil depletion allowance from a \$21.3 billion tax-reduction bill intended to stimulate the economy and help bring the recession to an end. Liberal Democrats in the House had insisted on tying the two longer than the provision of the total control that the debate over depletion repeal might delay swift passage of the tax cut.

Tax Refunds. Thus Ford and the Democrats agreed that, as the President put it in his message accompanying the tariff-postponement veto, "the most important business before us-after 50 days of debate-is still the economic stimulant that could be provided by income tax refunds." That judgment was reinforced when the Labor Department reported that an additional 540,000 workers, most of them in manufacturing industries, were out of jobs in February (see ECONOMY & BUSINESS). To help ease the jobless situation. Ford urged Congress last week to appropriate slightly more than \$2 billion for 760,000 additional summer jobs for youths and a six-months extension of some 310,000 public service jobs. On the other hand, Ford roundly criticized Congress for appropriating more funds than he has recommended to stimulate the economy. And, White House spokesmen suggested to reporters that the 1975 budget deficit may be closer to \$80 billion than Ford's original projection of \$52 billion

Ford's compromise with Congress on energy allowed him to argue, with considerable justification, that he had provoked the Democrats into coming up with alternatives to his energy program. Even so, the reaction of some G.O.P. leaders in Congress ranged from frigid to tepid. They told Ford that they were cautiously optimistic that the veto would be sustained in the Senate and that they were gaining ground in the House.

Ford's advisers, moreover, were sharply critical of the Democratic leaders' original energy proposals, which were contained in a set of mild guidelines drafted two weeks ago by a group headed by Senator John Pastore of Rhode Island and Representative James Wright of Texas (TIME, March 10). Interior Secretary Rogers Morton called it "a fuzzy press release." Federal Energy Administrator Frank Zarb warned that the Wright-Pastore approach would fall far short of Ford's proclaimed goal of near independence in energy by 1985. But some G.O.P. moderates argued that a defeat might cause a psychological loss of momentum on energy

Returning to Washington on Sunday evening from Camp David, Ford had still not made up his mind. But one reason for his reluctance was eased when House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Al Ullman disclosed more details of an energy program that was backed by Democratic members of his committee. Their prosteed were trauter. The process were trauter to be a support of the committee. Their process were trauter before the process of the proce

THE NATION

lower partisan temperatures by seeking a compromise.

An agreement will require some tough haggling in the weeks ahead, even though Ford and the Democrats already accept in principle that an energy program will require: 1) a national effort to conserve fossil fuels; 2) a limit on oil imports; 3) higher prices for petroleum products; and 4) Government measures to hasten the development of alternative energy sources. The hard bargaining will be over how those goals are to be achieved, how quickly and at what cost. The Democrats' position will initially be the Ullman program, which differs in several important respects from Ford's plan. Among the most important

IMPORTS. Ford wants to reduce oil imports by 1 million bbl. a day this year and by 2 million bbl. a day in 1977; by 1985, he wants the U.S. to import no more than 4.7 million bbl. a day, which would amount to 20% of estimated consumption. Ullman proposes that a more realistic goal would be to cut imports by 500,000 bbl. a day next year; within five or six years, he would have the U.S. reduce imports to 25% of national consumption.

TARIFFS v. QUOTAS. Ford would lower imports through higher tariffs, which he assumes would increase prices and thus reduce consumption. Ullman would gradually impose oil import quotas as the economy recovers from the recession and set up a federal purchasing agency to buy all oil imported into the U.S. through sealed bids in hopes of encouraging secret price cutting by oil producers. At a Ways and Means Committee hearing last week attended by Treasury Secretary William Simon. Zarb, Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Alan Greenspan and Interior Secretary Morton, Simon derided quotas as requiring "a major bureaucracy and eventually rationing.

AUTOMOBILES. To conserve gasoline further. Ford would relax clean-air standards on automobiles in exchange for an industry promise to boost fuel efficiency 40% by 1980. Ullman would put a 40e-per-gal, tax by 1979 on gasoline purchased in excess of 9 gal. a week per vehicle, pay rebates to purchasers of fuel-efficient automobiles and stiffly tax those who buy gas guzzlers

Both programs would contribute to inflation. The Administration claims that Ford's program would amount to a one-time 2% increase in prices. But the Democrats and many economists believe that his plan would create a ripple effect that would go on for years, adding more than 2%. In contrast, Harvard Economist Otto Eckstein, a member of TIME's Board of Economists, estimates that the Ullman plan would add only .6% to prices by the end of 1976 and 2.1% by 1980. Still, for all of their differences on energy, there is enough common ground to allow Ford and Congress to work out a settlement by the President's deadline.

THE PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDEY

The Quiet Counterforce

Even in politics, every force must have a counterforce; and Oregon's Congressman Al Ullman, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, is emerging as the locus of the power opposing Gerald Ford.

He is not as loud as Senator Henry Jackson or as brilliant as Senator Hubert Humphrey or as tough as House Democratic Caucus Chairman Phillip Burton. But he has a measure of real power in his committee chairmanship, and he talks quiet good sense in the ocean of babble. At 61 he looks 45, and he is three years along in a second marriage. He was once a high school teacher and then a builder. Now he is Baker, Ore.'s answer to Grand Rapids, Mich.

For the past several weeks Ullman has been about this town morning, noon and night, his rounded features looking out from newspaper pages and invading American living rooms via Face the Nation, 60 Minutes and almost every evening newscast. He seems to be running his own small presidency, but without

Air Force One or the limousines.

His influence comes from consulting, not ordering; he understands that he must get along to some degree with almost everybody, including Jerry Ford: He has opened up the Ways and Means Committee to the outside world, named subcommittees to spread authority and credit. His committee has come up with a taxrebate bill to counter Ford's, a bill to stop Ford's tax on imported oil, and Ways and Means is hammering out its



ULLMAN IN HIS OFFICE

own energy measure with allocation provisions and a new gas tax. Al Ullman stands right at the crossroads of the national crisis. The White House watches him intently. What program is finally imposed on this nation probably will be rooted more in the characters of Ford and Ullman than any other two men.

They are almost as much alike as they are different. Neither wants to die on the ramparts. Both know they can talk to each other any time. But both also believe, as Ullman puts it. "there is a time to talk and a time to let the process work." A month ago, they were talking. First on the phone. Then Ford had congressional leaders down to outline his economic package. As Ullman went out the door. the President stopped him. "We

ought to sit down and discuss this," he said. A few days later

Ullman went unnoticed in the side door of the White House for an hour's conversation with his old Hill colleague. Ford went over his program, Ullman said he just could not agree that Ford's way was right. There ought to be quotas, a gas tax, a 90-day delay on the import fee. He had given all that serious thought. the President responded, but he had decided the other route was best. Ullman said he could understand but he still would have to oppose. And Ford said that he could understand Ullman's position but he, Ford, was going to push ahead. Warm handshake.

Ford and Ullman were taking the measure of each other-friendly but opposed, signaling without saying. Ullman came out feeling that Ford was not anchored to his positions ("He hadn't finally disagreed"); was ready to compromise; needed some encouragement from the Hill, not poisonous opposition. He expects there will be a call from the President, or he will make one to

the White House. "I'll just say, 'Mr. President, we have demonstrated we can move. Here's our program. Hopefully, we can avoid a confrontation.

'We are in a time of change in our constitutional procedure," says Ullman, sitting at his desk. "Watergate and all pushed more responsibility for policy onto Congress. The President is personally very strong; he has just made a mistake. He is on the wrong course." Why? Well, Ford did not deal much with economics on the Hill and then he was not subjected to the tempering process of national election, muses Ullman. The next best thing is to use the legislative process to the fullest, and that is what Al Ullman is all about.



ALABAMA'S JAMES ALLEN



KANSAS' JAMES PEARSON



MINNESOTA'S WALTER MONDALE



THE SENATE

Trimming the Filibuster

It was one of the most intricate struggles in the history of the Senate's many battles over the filibuster. Finally, the urgencies of practical politics prevailed. The liberal Senate majority, determined not to be blocked by endless argument over legislation in a period of economic crisis, last week approved a compromise that achieved the first new limitation on debate since 1959. A filibuster will be choked off if 60 Senators (three-fifths of the total membership) vote to do so. That is seven less than the number (two-thirds) that had been required under the Senate's celebrated Rule 22, assuming the entire Senate was present and voting

The change does not appear large and may not prove lasting. Yet the fil-ibuster is such an emotionally charged Senate tradition, and the defense resisting any change was so craftly mountain the control of the control

Although he lost under the sheer weight of his opponents' voting power, Alabama's Democratic Senator James Allen, 62, played the most adroit role in the three weeks of parliamentary maneuvering. Tall and paunchy, his langorous drawl camouflaging his Mach 4 mind, Allen used every trick, rule, ruse and gambit in the book to bedazzle his foes. At one point it seemed as if Allen had the Senate voting on the following snarled procedure: a motion to table a motion to reconsider a vote to table an appeal of a ruling that a point of order was not in order against a motion to table another point of order against a motion to bring to a vote the motion to call up the resolution that would institute the rules change.

Dilatory Tactic. Such tactics kept the issue in doubt for days; but the liberals patiently persisted. They got a boost from Rockefeller's ruling that each new Senate draws up its own rules and that until Rule 22 was readopted, only a simple majority was required to change past practices. Rockefeller was even more helpful when he deliberately refused to recognize Allen on three successive occasions when Allen sought futilely to make "a parliamentary inqui-Although conservative Senators angrily assailed Rockefeller for this high-handed tactic, Rocky was technically right. The Senate rules specifically permit the presiding officer to ignore a parliamentary inquiry when he believes it is being used as a dilatory tactic. Allen's whole aim was to stall; he outsmarted himself by saying precisely why he sought recognition. Nor was Rockefeller's ruling that the Senate is a noncontinuing body all that extraordinary. Vice Presidents Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon had taken the same stand in securious Eliberter floghts.

previous filbuster fights.

Beausus Rockefeller's ruling was up-held by a majority of the Senate, how-ever, it prevented Allen from blocking preliminary votes on the rules change and permitted Senate sentiment for modification to be registered. Clearly worried about public reaction to a tediously quarrelessme Congress as Prescribed to the control of the control of

Griffin in secking a middle ground.

The result was a proposal to permit debate to be cut off on any motion when three-fifths of the entire Senate membership agrees. Mondale's original motion would have allowed three-fifths of those present and voting to invoke cloruc Given the frequent absentesism in the Senate, the difference was significant. If 90 Senators voted under Mondale's rule, for example, 54 Senators could shut off debate.

Willful Men. The compromise was supported by some previous opponents of any dilution of the filibuster, notably Democrat Russell Long. Such conservative Republicans as Roman Hruska and Robert Dole also turned around. They apparently felt that if they refused to compromise, the liberals might muster enough votes to gain a complete victory. On the first critical vote testing support of the compromise, it prevailed, 73 to 21. The holdouts included Republicans William Brock, Howard Baker, Barry Goldwater, Strom Thurmond and John Tower, as well as Democrats John Stennis and Herman Talmadge. The final vote to approve the compromise was 56-27

The new rule will make it easier for the Senate to vote on such issues as national health insurance and extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as well as resolve impasses over tax and energy proposals. Although the dispute could arise again in 1977, the precedent toward easier cloture has now been set. Sentiment seems to be running against the defenders of the filibuster, including the late Walter Lippmann who once praised it as "a precious usage, invaluable to the preservation of freedom." On the ascendancy is the judgment expressed by Woodrow Wilson, who as President argued that the filibuster allowed "a little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own," to make the Senate "the only legislative body in the world which cannot act when its majority is ready for action.'

Prying into Mail, Plotting Murder

"Let's get one thing clear right away," declared the angry chairwoman, flashing fiery eyes at the uncomfortable witness. "Opening the mail of a lawyer representing a client is clearly illegal."

CIA Director William Colby drummed his fingers on a table and fidgeted. He avoided the legal issue, but did not deny that CIA agents had frequently opened the mail of his accuser. New York's bellicose Congresswoman Bella Abzug. Nor could he if he had wanted to Lawyer Abzug had demanded that the CIA turn over its file on her, and purged of what Colby considered sensitive items, it now lay at her elbow in a long, fat manila envelope.

Presiding over a House subcommittee hearing. Congresswoman Abzug drew admissions from Colby that the Ct. And begun compling a file on her 22 years ago when she represented a client before the House Land Before and the Coltection of the College of the College of the Land Land Land Land Land Land Land grees in 1970. What she termed the "rotten stuff" in the envelope also included copies of letters she had written to Soviet officials trying to locate heirs to Soviet officials trying to locate heirs Nam War sepsech she had made in New





York, details of her meeting with Vietnamese Communists in Paris in 1972. Colby conceded that some of this information gathering 'may not be appropriate today.' He said obscurely that the CA he William of the propriate today. He said obscurely that the CA he will be a considered that the On U.S. citizens engage that the control of termed 'questionable'' political activities. Snapped Bella. "You say you're not going to do it it."

Routine Denicis. On another front, pressure on the CA was accumilating. At a press conference, President Ford obliquely confirmed published reports that Colby had privately told him of Ct. Amost any time an anti-U.S. leader any-where is toppled or killed, of course, rumors of CtA involvement arise. The Ct. notunity denies any connection with any political assessimation, and Ford him to comment on the subject.

That only meant the speculation was sure to continue. For example, one of the most persistent suspicions is that the CLA helped engineer the murder of South Viet Nam's President Ngo Dinh Diem when he was overthrown in a military uprising in 1963. No solid evidence of such at ie has been found, and indeed Watergate Criminals Charles Colson and E. Howard Hunt, a former CIA

BODY OF SOUTH VIET NAM'S SLAIN DIEM, HAITI'S DUVALIER, CUBA'S CASTRO & DEATH CAR OF DOMINICAN REPUBLIC'S TRUJILLO





agent, tried to fabricate cables linking the death to orders of President Kennedy when files at their disposal turned up no such evidence. But TIME has found credible sources who insist that the CIA was involved in assassination plots against at least three figures:

RAFAEL TRUJILLO. After 31 years of harsh rule over the Dominican Republic, the dictator was gunned down by assassins in May of 1961. His chauffeur gamely fired back in a brief gun battle that riddled Trujillo's car with bullet holes, "Nobody wanted another Cuba in the Dominican Republic," said one TIME source, who claims that the CIA thought that Trujillo was getting too friendly with the Communists. The CIA thus backed the successful drive to overthrow Trujillo. Several sources insist that some of the guns used in the killing, apparently fast-firing M-1 carbines, were smuggled into the Caribbean island by

CIA operatives FIDEL CASTRO. Largely confirming earlier reports by Columnist Jack Anderson. TIME sources contend that the CIA enlisted the expert hired-gun help of U.S. Mafia figures in several unsuccessful attempts to kill Castro both before and shortly after the CIA-planned Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. The mobsters were cooperative, since Castro had seized some of their lucrative Havana gambling casinos. The CIA. according to these accounts, worked with Gangsters Sam Giancana and John Roselli in futile attempts to poison or shoot Castro or kill him with planted explosives. The FBI later inadvertently learned of the plot in investigating a burglary of Comedian Dan Rowan's Las Vegas hotel room. Agents learned that the arrested prowlers had been assigned by the CIA as a favor to Giancana. who sought information to break up a budding romance between Rowan and Giancana's girl friend, Singer Phyllis

McGuire.
FRANCOIS ("PAPA DOC") DUVAUER.
The CIA collaborated with Haitian lead-ser of a group of at least 200 rebels, who had trained in the Dominican Republic in 1963; the rebels were stopped at the border by troops of the D.R. when they worded to attack Haiti. A lone pilot flew on over Papa Doc's palace and dropped a bomb that missed the building by 300 yards. The goy got littery and just Dock and the pilot flew on the properties of the p



POLITICS

The Growling on Ford's Right

A few months ago, nothing would have been more amicable than a meeting between President Ford and Republican Senators. But last week, when nine members of the Senate's conservative steering committee were uishered into the Oval Office, the mood was solemn. The Senators, ted by Idaho's James McClure, were there to deliver, in effect, an ultimatum. Stop your leftward silde, they warned the President, or we will stop supporting you.

sop supporting your mouth may be made as a moratorium on all new federal spending programs through 1976. "We want him to shout that loud and clear, right now," declared a Senator. Nor would they tolerate the nationalization of any troubled industry like the railroads. "We are on the brink of socialism," said a partiction of the properties of the protone of the properties of the protone of the admonitions phrased in blunt language, the Senators came away believing they had not got their message across to the noncommittal President. "We sensed the same old attitude," said one of them. "We still get the feeling that the White House thinks "Where else will you ge?"

Third Party. The conservatives are not sure where they will got they are di-vided on that. But they are all agreed that they should put as much ground as possible between themselves and the President's current policies. Unless he changes political direction, they are prared to back another candidate for parted to back another candidate for Reagan feer box?, or even start a third party. Although the Republican right is not a large group, it plays a dominant role in party fairly the problems of the property of the problems of the problems of the problems.

Now they are flexing this growing muscle. Early this month, a group of 28 key conservatives—members of Con-



SENATOR JAMES BUCKLEY



Reagan: Time for a New Second Party

Flanked by an American flag and a copy of Lawrence Welk's book Ah-One, Ah-Two, former California Governor Ronald Reagan was interviewed in his Los Angeles office last week by TIME Correspondent Jess Cook, Excerpts:

Conservative leaders meeting in Maryland a few days ago concluded that "Ford is unacceptable at the moment." Do you take issue with this?

No, because I'm in disagreement with what is being done [in Washington]. You hope, by raising a kind of grass-roots feeling or expression about what you think should be done, that you can influence an Administration.

Why are conservatives so at odds with a President whose political career has been basically conservative?

We have the spectacle of being asked to take sides on whether the deficit will be \$52 billion or \$70 billion or \$80 billion. I don't see where there is any side for many of us in that argument. Anyone who is worthy of having read an economics book knows that our problem is inflation, and you can't be diverted to fighting recession unless you're willing to go back on the spiral of inflation.

How would a President Reagan have handled things differently over the past six months?

six months?

I recognize that any man who is a Republican President with a great Democratic majority in Congress is up against a philosophical difference. But there is a limit to how much you can compromise in an effort to get solutions. When you start trying to mix salt and sugar, it is not going to turn out to be either to get the property of the sugar, it is not going to turn out to be either the property of the sugar, it is not going to turn out to be either the property of the sugar, it is not going to turn out to be either the property of the pro

ther good salt or good sugar. There come moments when you almost have to adopt an adversary position in order for people to understand what the issue is. Sometimes, even if you're going to be overridden in a veto, you stand and say, "Here, this is what we're going to do."

What arouse for and against a third.

What argues

I'd be more able to state what argues against. First, the historic lack of success of third parties. Second, the fact that the two-party system has served us well. Third, the new election and finance laws make it very difficult to get a third party off the ground. But if there comes a point when people feel there is no party that represents their views, then they have a way of taking action. I don't have any idea whether that time has come or not. I do know that the Republican Party is not understood by a great many people. There isn't an awareness that the Republican Party, its philosophy, is very much akin to what the polls reveal people are thinking and wanting. The party has got to get out from under the image created of it and stand for something. Will you definitely stick with the

Will you definitely stick with the G.O.P. in 1976?

Here you're asking for something way down the road that I don't think anyone can foresee. I want to. What we really need is a new second party. What I mean is a Republican Party that represents Republican Parlisosophy and makes that clear. It's my hope and prayer that Jerry Ford will be so successful in resolving the problems facing us that 1976 will be taken care of:

EX-GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN

What, if anything, would convince you that you should run for President of the United States?

I think that people give you an indication, and then you have to decide whether enough people have made what amounts to a call to duty. After that, you have to find out if you agree with them, that you actually do have something to offer.

Conservatives have never had much electoral appeal in times of economic stress. Can they have it now?

How can your philosophy be a failure if it hasn't been implemented? For 40 years or more this country has been following the lute song of the liberals. Suddenly, when they come undone with heir planned economy, their deficit spending and their deliberately planned inflation, which they said would maintain prosperity, how the hell do the conservatives get balmed?

Could you go on a ticket with George

First, Wallace is a Democrat, I'm a Republican. Second, I think there are philosophical differences between us. He is critical of the way things have been done in Government, but I don't think he is as opposed to Government being the solution as I am.

We started it all with a clean ashtray.

Now No.2 in size is No.1 in service.



When we first concentrated on things: Ashtrays. Windshields. Smiles. (We didn't really have much else to work with in those days.) But soon, trying harder led us to try out some better things. With these results:

Avis gives you the Fast Car Rental. Ask us for your free Wizard Number. It lets our Wizard Number Express Service deliver your keys and car with unbeatable speed.

Avis has newer cars than our biggest competitor. We replace our cars every 7 to 8 months, on the average, instead of every year. Avis gets you out of your car and on your

way faster than they do. Because, in just 75 seconds, the Wizard can produce the only fully typed, computer-accurate rental agreement in the business.

Trying harder: It's given you a lot. (It's done pretty well for us, too.)



Avis rents all makes...features cars engineered by Chrysler,

gress, business executives, party activists and even a labor representative-met at a resort on Maryland's Eastern Shore to map out strategy leading up to 1976. They did not agree on a blueprint for action, but as former USIA Director Frank Shakespeare put it, "You could see ideas fermenting there, people considering things they would have considered heretical two or three years ago, asking what is the right thing to do with respect to the country and conservative principles." Said New York Senator James Buckley, who organized the meeting: "We want to be sure we are not left out of the 1976 election. There is the intention to be around and to be heard before somebody is nominated at the convention. We want to have the troops in place so as not to be surprised."

Too Lote. The conservative griennoses against the Administration have been rapidly multiplying. Conservatives fault Ford for his budget defeit, his compromises with Democratis in Congress, his annesty program, his pursuit of detente, his appointment of moderates and liberals to office, especially Vice Freschort (V) has non-end his hawkthese on defense, not his firmness on law-and-order, not his firmness on law-and-order, not his firmness on law-and-order, not his fired moderation —has managed to erase his liberal image among the unforgiving right. Says Ronald Docksat, chairman of the Young Ronald Docksat, chairman of the Young Americans for Freedom, a conservative student and youth organization with about 50,000 members: "The choice of Rockefeller was perceived as a hetraval."

Rather than accept a Ford-Rockefeller ticket in 1976, or worse yet, the prospect of Rocky in the top spot should Ford step aside, many conservatives want to start a third party now. Last month some 450 conservatives meeting in Washington cheered M. Stanton Evans, chairman of the American Conservative Union, when he declared, "It's too late. We've gone beyond the point of no return." The sentiment was obviously in favor of a new party, and a Committee on Conservative Alternatives was set up under the leadership of North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms to explore the possibility of breaking away from the G.O.P. if it does not meet their standards. William Rusher, publisher of National Review, envisions a coalition of traditional Republicans, Wallace Democrats and elements of organized labor in opposition to the "nonproducing elite (media, teachers, foundations and bureaucracy) and the huge (and equally nonproductive) welfare constituency

The prospect of a conservative third party's fracturing what is left of the post-Watergate G.O.P. horrifies regular Republicans, as speaker after speaker made plain at a gathering of 2,700 state

and local party leaders in Washington last week. It began with the bad news that the party's own survey shows only 7% of voters now regard themselves as strong Republicans and only 18% as Republicans at all: 42% of Americans say they are Democrats, and 40% independents. President Ford warned against "fanatic factions" and "elite guards" who would threaten the rebuilding of the party and could contribute to "the death of the two-party system so vital to this nation." Rockefeller sounded the same note to the delegates, saying: "I don't want to see one party of the right and one of the left. I want a party that represents all the people, all points of view Missouri Governor Christopher Bond was blunt: "I am a little tired of reading about Republicans meeting to discuss the so-called third party option, or organizing committees to 'watch' the President

Promised Lond. Yet many conservatives are not so concerned with winning as with making their point. They are convinced that the long-range trend is toward conservatism in America. They want to lead the way to the promised land without much regard for the losses suffered en route. Says a conservative who participated in the Buckley meeting: "We've got to be successful with Ford—or we can't hold them back. The dam will break."

THE WHITE HOUSE

An Intimate First Family Portfolio

On the hot Augusta afternoon when Gerald Ford was sworn in such President of the U.S., he declared: "My fellow Americans, our long national nightmare is over." For one of Washington's top freelance photographers. Fred Ward, the event had a particular impact. Says he: "Suddenly the entire atmosphere changed. Pope who hadn't smilled;" wearn with entire the move in model in the capital register of the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the deal was the deal

Just how open Ford was with Ward is shown in the remarkable photographs on this and the following two pages. They are part of a portfolio of Ward's pictures to be published in May by Harper & Row in a book entitled Portrait of a President. The volume also includes a portrait biography of the President written by Hugh Sidey, TIME's Washington bureau chief.

Photographer Ward describes Ford as "the easiest subject ever worked with." Ward rode alone with the President to the hospital to have lunch with Betty Ford after her cancer operation. Ward was there when Mrs. Ford sald goodbye to her son Steve following her massectomy. He was present at retriever, into the pool. Shooting rapidly, and somehow managing to keep dry, Ward recorded a slapstick sequence as Betty Ford pushed her husband into the water, then Press Secretary Romald Messen and Nancy Howe, Mrs. Ford's personal scretary, dunked each other And in a Traffactsque bit of business, Ward even caught Ford busine goed with Bedevice somer at Camp David.



Betty Ford rumpling the President during family talk



Betty Ford dunking her husband; Howe fleeing after shoving in Nessen; wengeful Nessen tossing in Howe. Nessen walking wetly away; Ford teaching dog paddle to Liberty; Ford changing clothes while Camp David aide waits with towel.







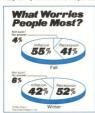




The Public: Little Confidence in Ford or Congress

As the recession has deepened, so has the gloomy outlook of the American people. One out of three now fears losing his or her job because of the economy, and a slightly higher proportion reports itself in serious financial trouble and deeply worried about unpaid bills and shrinking savings. Even worse, only about one in five Americans has much confidence in the ability of either President Ford or Congress to deal with economic problems. As a result, two-thirds of the public think that the country is in deep trouble; almost half fear that the U.S. is headed straight for a severe depression.

That pessimistic picture was drawn from the latest TIME Soundings, a quarterly survey of the mood, temper and



outlook of Americans. Soundings consists of a series of political and social indicators that were developed for Thus by Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc., the New York-based public opinion research firm. The most recent results were based on telephone interviews conducted in itsel January, tabulated and analyzed in February, with a representative sample of 1046 Americans of voting age. Results for each individual surface and the series of the ser

ECONOMIC STRESS. In recent months, the focus of public concern has shifted from inflation to recession. Asked which they fear more, 52% of those surveyed said recession and 42% aski inflation—almost an exact reversal of the figures tabulated three months ago. The reason seems to be that fear of unempropried to the foundation of the figures tabulated three months ago. The reason seems to be that fear of unempropried to the first three for the first three firs

	Fall	Wint
High cost of food:	80%	70
Saving for the future:	50	40
Savings wiped out		
by inflation:	54	48
Not being able to		
keep up with bills:	36	38
Meeting rent		
and mortgage costs:	38	45
Loss of job		
because of the economy	27	22

The number of Americans in immediate economic distress, as opposed to those merely worried about their economic future, has predictably continued to rise, but the rate of increase has slowed. The winter survey found that 35% of those interviewed were in serious economic trouble, up from 23% last soring and 33% last fall.

NATIONAL MOOD. The indicator that evaluates the state of the nation's morale and confidence in the future, the national mood, is now lower than it was even at the worst of the Watergate crisis. Some 77% said that they think things are going badly in the country, up from 69% in the fall and spring of last year.

The public, moreover, has become increasingly disenchanted with President Gerald Ford. Confidence in his ability to handle the economy has dwindled, while confidence in Congress has increased, though it still remains low. This was shown when people were asked who they thought could best deal with the confidence of the present of the present of the compared with those to the same questions last fall:

CONFIDENCE IN FORD

A lot:	19%	21%
Some:	60	49
None:	15	28

CONFIDENCE IN CONGRESS

	Fall	Winter
A lot:	12%	20%
Some:	60	54
None:	25	22

ENERGY TAXES. Despite the fow conidence in political leaders, people clearly want action from them on energy and economic polity. By 5% to 4%, those containing the control of the control tax that would increase gasoline prices. Even Republicans looked with more fator or rationing than on proposed efforts to cut consumption through higher prices (45% v. 43%), while Democrats backed rationing by more than 2 to 1.

To stimulate the economy, 78% of those polled thought limiting a tax rebate to lower- and middle-income tax-payers would be best, while only 19% supported Ford's proposal of an across-the-board rebate up to a maximum of \$1,000. There was strong sentiment for

tax incentives for business to help the ceonomy; 78% favored the idea, upeight points from last fall. By heavy majorities, people favored bringing back wage-price controls (69% agreed), cutting defense spending (72%), reducing foreign aid (82%) and loosening credit and mortgage money (82%).

American's feelings on their sussex. The analysts found that the accusations of their legal domestic spying by the CLA have left the public indifferent; 59% of those polled fielt that the charges had been in-flated out of proportion, while 25% believed that the agency had broken the leived that the agency had broken the better, \$2% said that the CLA affair would not uppet them as much as they

Yes, Things Are Going Badly In the Country

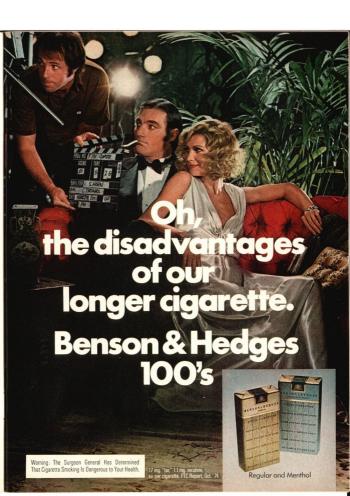


had been by the Watergate scandals.

VIET NAM. The analysts also found minimal support among those surveyed for increased military aid to South Viet Nam. Only 7% backed Ford's request for an increase in aid, while 30% wanted it kept at the present level and 54% favored a reduction. Even among Republicans, only 9% supported an increase in aid.

CANDIDATES. As the recession has deepened, it has sharply eroded public interest in electing Ford in 1976. As recently as last fall, 56% of those polled found Ford acceptable as a candidate, and only 24% considered him to be un-acceptable. In the winter survey, 48% found him acceptable, and 41% called him unacceptable. But there has been no parallel in-

crease in enthusiasm for his potential Democratic opponents. The pollsters found that among the announced Democratic candidates, only Senator Henry M. Jackson is known to a majority of voters (59%). But of the 54% who expressed any enthusiasm for a candidate to oppose Ford, only 8% named Jackson. The favorite, with 34%, was Senator Edward Kennedy.







OPEC SUMMIT HOST HOUARI BOUMEDIENNE WITH THE SHAH OF IRAN IN ALGIERS

OII

Searching for Stability

Amid obvious signs of concern about falling world oil demand, leaders of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries gathered in Algeria last week for their first summit conference. Description of the Countries of the Cou

representatives inseared.

Grand Polley. The main purpose

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The generally worded 14-page declaration of principles adopted by the OPEC delegates carried one unmistakable message: OPEC is worried about maintaining its windfall increase in economic and political power. In any conference with industrial nations, the del-"stabilization" of oil costs. That in effect means keeping prices at present high levels and adjusting them up or, far less likely, down to keep pace with world inflation.

The OPEC chiefs insisted that the agenda of any international conference would also have to deal with such issues as reform of the world monetary system to favor less developed nations and a speed-up of their industrial growth. The delegates demanded that any bargaining on oil prices be expanded to include all raw-materials prices—a position vigorously opposed by the U.S.

The cartel members agreed to accept France's invitation to Suid Arabia. Iran, Venezuela and Algeria to represent OPEC at a preliminary meeting in Paris on April 7. They will sit down with representatives of the U.S. Japan and the Common Market countries, along with delegates from Barzil, India and Zaire. The April meeting will lay the groundwork for a full-dress conference between oil producers, industrial nations and Third World countries later on.

Foremost in OPEC planners' minds as they prepare for these meetings will be what they regard—not inaccurately—ast hestrategy of the consuming countries to crack the cartel's price front. Last week, for example, delegates of the 8 oil-consuming nations that make up the International Energy Agency met preparing the oil states. The U.S. operation has been that it would not attend the April meeting unless it had strong backing within the IEA on at least one

or two proposals aimed at helping to free the industrial world from its heavy dependence on imported oil.

One proposal calls for consuming nations to set a minimum or "floor" price for imported oil that would proceed the investments of companies decreted the investments of companies derisk of suddenly falling crude prices. The other would achieve the same objective by levying a common tariff on oil important for the part, are looking for another method of protecting investment in energy development that would be more flexible and thus better able to of the consuming countries.

Blunt Pledge. OPEC worries about the consuming nations' posture were clearly reflected in its declaration, which condemned "any plan or strategy designed for aggression, economic or military, against any OPEC member." The criticism was a clear reference to statements by U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and President Ford on the possibility of using force to prevent economic "strangulation" of the West by the oil producers. Algeria had proposed that OPEC members make a blunt pledge to impose another oil embargo if any member was attacked, but the final declaration merely noted that the cartel would take "immediate and effective measures to counteract such threats with a united response.

No amount of bombast could hide the concerned mood of the meeting. The recession in the industrialized world, caused in part by towering oil prices. has sharply reduced demand for OPEC crude. This has lowered revenues for oil producers, who have had to cut production. OPEC output, which averaged 33 million bbl. a day in 1974, is now down to an average rate of 27 million bbl. Cartel officials note that even with shrinking demand, oil producers are taking in more money now than they were a few vears ago. Yet the more production falls. the closer OPEC comes to an exquisitely difficult political problem; how to apportion cuts within the cartel so that no member suffers more than others. Already Abu Dhabi has publicly complained about the fact that the cartel has taken no steps to allocate production cuts. In these circumstances, the stresses within OPEC can only intensify.

Such pressures are notificably to bring down optic soon, but they are helping to create a climate for more cooperative trade relationships between the producers and their customers in the West. Last week, for instance, the U.S. and Iran signed a major agreement that commiss iran to spend about \$12 billion on American goods and services, including up to wears. The State Department insists that

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

the deal has nothing to do with American policy toward OPEC. Yet the better U.S. relations are with individual cartel members—and the more dependent these countries are on American equipment and technology—the more influence the U.S. will have on OPEC as a whole.

TRADE

Battling the Blacklist

The Arab boycott of Israel is rapidly becoming a political issue in the U.S. In various House and Senate hearings last week, leaders of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and other Jewish groups offered some new revelations of how the Arab oil states are using their new economic strength. They testified that more than a dozen U.S shipping lines have been quietly cooperating with the boycott by avoiding Israeli ports. Another charge: that commercial banks that act as agents for Arab countries have been requiring certificates of compliance with the boycott before issuing letters of credit to U.S. firms doing business in the Middle East.

Special Office, In the Senate, New Jersey Democrat Harrison Williams Jr. has introduced a bill that would empower the President to bar individual foreign investments of more than 5% in U.S. firms: investments by Arabs or, for that matter, anyone else participating in a commercial boycott would be prohibited altogether. Says New York Republican Jacob Javits, a strong proponent of the Williams bill: "These people Ithe Arabsl are trying to coerce Americans into discriminating against other Americans. In other words, they are trying to subvert the very foundations of our republic." Advocates of the Williams bill say that their target is the Arabs' "secondary boycott"-the economic pressure (through the blacklist threat) that is placed on U.S. companies not to trade with Israel. They argue that this makes the Arab boycott of Israel different from the trade embargoes imposed by the U.S. against Cuba and, not too long ago,

China The Administration and many business leaders worry that a legislative assault on the Arab blacklist might frighten off badly needed foreign capital and provoke diplomatic and economic reprisals by Arab countries. One alternative favored by the White House: the creation of a special office to monitor and supervise all foreign investments in the U.S. Nevertheless, with active encouragement from the B'nai B'rith and other groups that make up the so-called Jewish lobby, a retaliatory mood seems to be growing in Congress: no fewer than 26 Senators lined up to sponsor a resolution calling on the Administration to take economic steps, such as cutting off technical assistance programs, against Arab countries that observe the boycott. UNEMPLOYMENT

America's New Jobless: The Frustration of Idleness

I need a job. Don't care what it is or how much pay. Am very eager to learn. Ask for Dave.

So read a plaintive ad in the Wilmigton News and Journal papers, Delaware's two statewide dailies, which has week oppened their classified pages to the unemployed free of charge. The response from the unemployed was startling. "We were expecting 400, maybe 500 at at most," asys Classified Mandown of the page of the page of the page week, 1095 pobless people—secretaries and executives, graphic artists and truck drivers, burtenders, librarians and regineers—sent in their pleas for wordgineers—sent in their pleas for wordgineers—sent in their pleas for wordtheir plass of the plass of the plass of the plass of the plass of their plass of the plant p

Throughout the U.S., unemployment-or the fear of it-has become a gnawing preoccupation. The Gallup poll reports that 15% of the nation's working people fear that they will lose their jobs in the next year. The Harris survey shows that more than half the public has already been hurt by work cutbacks; of those questioned, 30% said that they or a family member had been laid off, 9% had lost overtime and 13% had had their working hours reduced. Police blame unemployment for a recent jump in robberies and purse snatchings; many of the culprits who have been caught are jobless first-time offenders. Calling last week for more federal funds to create summer jobs for restless youth, New York City Mayor Abe Beame said: "The social toll of this kind of unwilling idleness among our young people could be devastating.

No Jokes. Unemployment has become a compelling theme of soap operas. comic strips, rock songs. In ABC's One Life to Live and CBS's The Young and the Restless characters talk as much about their job insecurities as their sexual insecurities. In the newspapers' Mary Worth, two characters are putting off marriage because they are out of work. (Comic-strip art imitates life; marriage rates are tumbling because of unemployment.) In a new song, Hard Times, Arlo Guthrie croons: "I ain't got a nickel to call mine ... We ain't even got a lousy dime." Nobody is cracking any jokes about unemployment, but once again the old line is being heard: "When you're unemployed, it's a recession. When I'm unemployed, it's a depression.

By that standard, millions of Americans would argue that the most severe slump since the 1930s has indeed become worse than a recession. As recently as August, unemployment was 5.4%. Lately it has risen in frightening leaps \$10.7.2% in December and 8.2% in Jan-



NEW YORK: JOBLESS EXECUTIVE

uary. The rate was again 8.2% in February, the Labor Department reported last week, but the real situation had worsened. Total employment fell sharply. The jobless rate held stable only because so many people despaired of finding a job that they simply dropped out for the labor force. In all, 580,000 people left the work force, and total employment declined by 540,000, to a season-ally adjusted 54 million. But 7.3 million The inbless to lis expected to grow.

The jobiess toil is expected to grow for several more months, probably topping 9%. It will stay high for the fore-seeable future, even long after the economy turns up. The Ford Administration's 1976 budget projects that unemployment will average 7.9% next year and 7.5% in 1977 and that it will not dip below 6% until 1980.

Those sketchy and controversial

projections may be overly pessimistic, but they have raised large questions. Is unemployment really as bad as the cold numbers suggest? How are people coping? What groups of Americans are being hurt most? And what should the U.S. do about the problem?

Indisputably, unemployment is high among all groups in the labor force. It has idled

- 1 out of 16 adult men,
- 1 out of 12 adult women.
- 1 out of 5 teen-agers,
- 1 out of 6 young Viet Nam veterans, 1 out of 14 whites,
- 1 out of 7 non-whites.
- 1 out of 9 blue-collar workers, 1 out of 19 heads of households.



VAN NUYS, CALIF.: CLAIMING COMPENSATION



BAYONNE, N.J.: IDLE AUTO WORKER



BOSTON: LAID-OFF CONSTRUCTION MAN

TIME, MARCH 17, 1975

Of course, the situation is quite unlike the apple-selling days of the Great Depression, when one in every four workers was desperately, hopelessly unemployed and practically no safety nets protected them. Today, 6 million of the jobless are collecting unemployment compensation. The payments are made for up to 52 weeks. The states pay for the first 26 weeks, raising the money by taxing employers; the states and the Federal Government share the costs for the next 13 weeks, and Washington finances the final 13 weeks. The amount of the payments and the eligibility for them vary from state to state, but most people who have worked for 26 weeks out of the past year should be able to collect. Except in a few states, the size of the payments is determined not by need or number of dependents, but by how much a person earned on his last job. In New York, for example, anyone who averaged \$189 or more weekly gets the maximum: \$95 per week. If he earned less than \$189, he gets roughly half his previous pay. Nationwide, according to the Labor Department, the tax-free pay-

All together, 1.5 million of the jobless are ineligible for unemployment compensation. Among them: self-employed people who have not contributed to unemployment compensation funds, people who have not held steady jobs

ments average \$61 per week, which

comes out to 40% of the worker's pre-

vious take-home pay. Understandably,

many families cannot scrape by on that



ATLANTA: IN AN UNEMPLOYMENT OFFICE

for the past year, including recent college graduates; people who quit jobs without good cause; workers who have already used up their 52 weeks of unemployment compensation. Just about everybody has some ex-

tra cushions, though they are becoming thin and frayed. Most (but not all) jobless auto workers collect supplemental unemployment benefits of just under 95% of their basic pay. But Chrysler Corp's SUB funds are expected to run out by early April and General Motors' by mid-May. Other unemployed people are drawing down their bank savings and selling off stocks. In sum, few peo-

ple are totally destitute yet, but there could be spreading poverty and grave social trouble if high unemployment persists.

In varying ways, the unemployed are learning how to cope. Jobless Viet Nam veterans are signing up in record numbers for college or vocational courses to collect G.I. Bill benefits, which pay \$270 a month for a single person. After collecting their food stamps at the Los Angeles County Department of Social Services, some of the unemployed stop at nearby vacant lots-to pick wild mustard greens. A laid-off Chrysler senior engineer. James Howard, 44, has become a Mr. Fixit, going round his neighborhood in Detroit to repair furnaces. rehabilitate appliances and install storm windows that he builds. Norman Sanders, 55, an unemployed electrician from Somerville, N.J., found a solution: "My two married sons and I set up a commune. We share taxes, food bills and household expenses. We all get along real good

Sin of Omission. The search for work is intense. So many job seekers want to enlist in the armed forces that recruiters have raisted admission standards, and the Air Force even turns down some men with master's degrees. All over the U.S. employers find they can fill jobs that pay only \$2 or \$2.25 an and job standards, and the pay only \$2 or \$2.25 an extension of the pay only \$2 or \$2.25 and fill jobs that pay only \$2 or \$2.25 and fill jobs that pay only \$2 or \$2.25 and fill jobs that pay only \$2 or \$2.25 and fill jobs that pay only \$2 or \$2.25 and fill jobs that pay only \$2 or \$2.25 and fill jobs that pay only \$2 or \$2.25 and \$2

playing their talents and training, hoping to avoid the stigma of "overqualifi-" Marge Johnston, cation 49, of Berkeley, Calif., has been a medical microbiologist for 23 years and unemployed for the past 17 months. Says she: "Nobody is going to hire a microbiologist to drive a bus. But I'm prepared to handle that. On job application forms, I can put down that I'm only a high school graduate. This is called the sin of omission. Everybody does it.

Even a successful job search can exhaust a person's resources. Charles Kent Evans, 48, lost a \$25,000-per-year job as vice president of Delta, Inc., a manufacturing firm in Jonesboro, Ark. Looking for a new post, he was willing to accept a cut to as low as \$9,000. He sent out 100 résumés, listed himself with five employment agencies, got written recommendations from his Senators, J. William Fulbright and John McClellan. Still, it took him 18 months to find work, as director of the Arkansas State Nurses Association. During his ordeal, he depleted his life savings, cashed in his son's life insurance, dropped the family's hospitalization insurance, sold his coin col-

lection and moved from a twelve-room

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

house to a three-room basement apartment in his in-laws' home.

Though Evans was exceptionally well fixed to cope with a layoff, he belongs to the group in the U.S. population whose unemployment most debilitates the nation's economy. They are the heads of households, and their unemployment rate has jumped in the past year from 3% to 5.4%. Whole families depend on these breadwinners. When they lose jobs, their spouses and children reduce their own spending, and the family drains its savings. Household heads have a tougher time than single adults in making ends meet on their unemployment-compensation checks. They tend to be people who have locked themselves into big payments for mortgages, cars, college bills.

The high rate of teen-age unemployment is a less severe problem because a working teen-ager usually represents a second income to his family. But in the case of black teen-agers, that income ianitor, fireman, auto mechanic, periodicals clerk, meat cutter, dog warden.

Placement directors say jobs are hardest to find in the social sciences, arts, foreign languages and education. The graduates in highest demand are those in engineering, physical sciences, health, business, accounting and computer services. At the Harvard Business School this year, oil companies, commercial banks and auto-parts and -servicing firms are recruiting heavily. But there is a decline in recruiting by auto manufacturers and investment banking and real estate firms. General Motors, whose recruiters ordinarily hire 400 to 600 graduates each year, has canceled all its 1975 campus searches.

To be sure that they can sign up for the limited number of job interviews, some students have even taken to sleeping in line in front of college placement offices. Youngsters are also dressing up for interviews. Columbia University's placement director, Athena Constanline but nonetheless feel frustrated in their attempts to live by the work ethic. The longtime housewife who would like to pursue a career and earn her own money; the student who wishes to "stop out" of college for a year to help finance his education; the bored pensioner who yearns to devote his training to something more than basking in the sun-all are likely to give up the job quest. None may suffer hardship, but all have lost some freedom of choice, and society may have lost something as well.

Stay Put. The same plight faces the ambitious worker who is stuck in a job that gives insufficient scope to his talents. In better times, he would look for and probably find another job. During recession, he is likely to stay put and may do only enough work to keep on drawing his paycheck. His career is blocked; society misses the enthusiasm that he could bring to a new job and incurs a loss of productivity.

When a man loses his job, he is also severed from much of his community. "Forty hours of interaction with his cronies is cut out from under him," says Psychiatrist Stephen Landau of the University of Michigan. Having studied the increasing numbers of unemployed who are being treated at the university's emergency psychiatric clinic, Landau says that they frequently show signs of apathy, lethargy, despair and even sui-

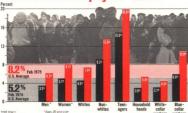
cidal depression. The mere threat of losing a job, he reports, can lead to "an-ticipatory symptoms," including heavy drinking. The child clinic is also getting "a lot of cases where a father is laid off and the adolescents explode with the tensions created in the home." Landau cites studies showing that the stress signs caused by unemployment can remain in the family for up to two years after a worker regains a job. Jules Siegel, a California state un-

employment official, finds that "losing a job is like losing a loved one." Adds Toni St. James, a San Francisco vocational psychologist: "Unemployment can become a psychological illness with symptoms as clearly defined as a disease like measles. Tragically, too many of the unemployed face the trauma alone, feeling rejected even by those who love them." At social gatherings, unemployed people often find themselves standing alone. They have little to talk about because so much of the conversation is job-oriented. Other guests tend to avoid them, much as football players move away from an injured teammate.

The psychological strain is hardest on middle-aged, upper-middle-income executives, who felt wedded to their companies and drew strong creative satisfactions from their jobs. Corporate managers find it even harder to adjust to unemployment than do entrepreneurs. Says Ari Kiev, a Manhattan psychiatrist: "Managers are probably more dependent persons who often tie up their whole lives with the corporation. When unemployed, they feel abandoned and

Who Are the Unemployed?

Feb. 1974 Feb. 1975



may well mean the difference to a family between scraping by or remaining deep in poverty and on welfare. In the past year, black teen-age unemployment has soared from 29% to 41%. Warns Herbert Hill, national labor director of the NAACP: "The disastrous rate of unemployment among black youth is the single most explosive factor for causing potential social unrest." Workers with ghetto youth report a rapid rise in the teen-agers' distrust of "the System." Says Cecil Williams, pastor of San Francisco's Glide Memorial Methodist Church: "We are witnessing a tremendous sense of hopelessness and a growing gulf between the haves and have-nots.

Job prospects for young people leaving college this June are bleaker than in many years. No longer does the \$20,-000 invested in their educations buy automatic preference in the job market. Michigan State University reports that some recent graduates of its School of Social Science list their occupations as tine, notes: "Men are coming in with shirts, ties and suits, and the gals look like they are stepping out of an ad.

But not even graduates in the "hot" fields can feel sure of jobs. For example, Clara Maria Chow, 22, has been looking for work in computer technology since last June, when she got a B.S. in math from St. Mary's College in Notre Dame. Ind. Now, she says, "I've come to the point of accepting anything -even a clerk's job for \$90 a week She has been interviewed by IBM. Bendix, Marcor, Burroughs, Xerox, Miles Laboratories and many other companies. Her experience is that "most interviewers seem to like overly aggressive applicants. It seems as if politeness and the appearance of being a lady are not requirements. I've purposely put on an aggressive front in recent interviews, but I still don't have a job."

High unemployment also imposes hidden psychological costs on people who never stand in an unemployment



I smoke for only one reason.

I don't smoke a brand to be like everybody else.
I smoke because I enjoy it. I smoke Winston Super King.
Super King's extra length gives me an extra smooth taste
that's real. Real taste—and real pleasure—
are what smoking's all about. Winston is for real.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health,

What appliance makers are doing to reduce your power consumption



One prominent manufacturer is now using rotary compressors for their new residential air conditioning systems. They estimate electricity savings of as much as 26 per cent compared to their previous systems.

A new type of ignition system which does away with all pilot lights is now offered in a well-known make of gas range. The manufacturer estimates typical gas savings at about 30%.



Little appliances can save power, too. Example: a new kind of electric clock draws so little current it doesn't even register in the home electric meter. New small motors of more efficient design are saving power in a variety of electric housewares.

A major refrigerator-freezer line is now on the market which reduces cold losses so effectively that it uses much less electricity than other models. For example, a 17-cu-ff model can save up to 43%. Over the average life son of a refrigerator (16 years) the total savings would be about \$410—enough to pay for a brand-new refrigerator at today's prices.

As a major supplier of steels to the appliance industry, we have developed several new products to meet their needs, and have devoted a great deal of our time and expertise in helping appliance makers to get the most out of each kind of steel they use. Living as close to them as we do, we are confident that they will continue to chip away at the power consumption of their products.



Why "Datsun Saves" means a lot more than great gas mileage.

There's more to driving than filling up with gas. So we build each Datsun to last longer than you'll own it and cost as little as possible to run.

Example: Datsun crankshafts turn on five rather than three main bearings. Our crankshaft runs more smoothly, is more durable.

Example: Datsun engines have aluminum heads. Many comparable cars have cheaper cast iron heads, which don't dissipate heat as well

Example: Datsun cars come with heavy duty 60 amp. batteries. Most new cars offer only 45 or 50 amp. batteries.

Example: We fitted a small, easily opened inspection plate under our manual transmissions. If something goes wrong you don't

Luggage rack and automatic transmiss

have to remove the entire unit to locate the problem.

Example: Every Datsun has two fuel flifers; one at the enjoy and the gas tank. If you happen to buy a tank of bad gas, two filters clean it better than one.

It all adds up. You'll find scores of other improvements on all lard. new Datsuns. Taken

neclining bucker seath: Carpeting. new Datsuns. Taken together, they result in as economical and durable an automobile as possible. Datsun Saves means outstanding fuel economy, inexpensive maintenance, great resale value



have nothing to fall back upon. But entrepreneurs, however devastated by unemployment, are more flexible, more self-reliant." One of his patients, an unemployed entrepreneur, went out and found a job as a cab driver; an unemployed sales manager refused similar work because, Kiev says, "he didn't want to dirty his hands."

Real Ánguish. Factory workers adjust best of all. They are used to many bumps in life, and they fatalistically accept layoffs. Explains Kiev. "The factory worker has more cynicism, more skepticism about the company than the executive. He feels that the company week him something. When the bitches at the company." And he goes out to mow laws and fend for himself."

Even blue-collar workers, however, often disguise the real anguish of their ioblessness from friends and their own children. Birdie Gaston, 62, who lives in Harlem, was laid off as a packager for Alfred Dunhill, Inc. a week before Christmas. "I brood a lot, and I hurt inside," she says, but she has attempted to hide those feelings from her relatives. She feels "ashamed" that she has to collect unemployment compensation (\$63 a week). Most of all, she misses the job. When I am working, I feel 24 years old. When I am not working, I feel as if I'm 90. I don't even want to look in the mirror." She spends many days sitting in a state placement office or in a hall of her union, the Distributive Workers of America, waiting—and waiting—for a job to be posted. "There seems to be no hope, no hope," she says. "But I'm going to keep trying."

Invariably, the unemployed complain of the boredom and tensions of enforced idleness. They spend the first weeks off the job doing all the long-putoff chores—fixing up the house, putering with the car. But after a while everything is fixed, and there is nothing to do. Says Dave Lee, 22, who tost his job. The complete of the car. I help my wife clean. I show the car, I help my wife clean. I show snow. I just try to pass the time. It's 24 hours a day, and it's terrible."

For Emilio Remondi, 40, of Hyde Park, Mass., a diesel mechanic who has been laid off twice in the last year, prolonged unemployment has brought a sense of entrapment, a feeling that all

How Unemployment Is Figured

During the third week in February, a pencil-wielding army of some 1,000 pollsters from the Bureau of the Census descended upon 50,000 households across the U.S. Their mission: to find out how many Americans were working and not working from Feb. 9 to Feb. 15. Information from the poll, called the Current Population Survey, was sent to Washington, fed into Census Bureau computers in Suitland, Md., and then turned over to the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics. The end result of this complex process was last week's announcement by the BLS that in February the number of unemployed stood at 7.5 million, or 8.2% of a total labor force of 91.5 million

The Government has been measuring U.S. employment in this way since 1940. Today the BLS spends some \$5 million a year on its monthly surveys. The results that the bureau publishes are only extrapolations from polls, but the polls are remarkably thorough.

BLS statisticians are persuaded that there is only one chance in ten that their overall jobless figures can be off by more than 150,000. The current population survey is far broader than commercial polls that measure, say, public opinion or television audiences. The sample covers every state and the District of Columbia, and is designed to reflect urban, rural and industrial areas in proportion to their presence in the nation as a whole. For polling purposes, the survey is broken down into districts containing about 300 households. These, in turn, are divided into clusters of about four dwelling units each. One-fourth of the 50.000 households in the sample are replaced each month so that no single household is visited in more than four consecutive surveys

The Census Bureau's trained pollsters all work from a standard questionnaire that is meticulously worded to avoid bias. Respondents are never asked directly if they consider themselves unemployed. That is determined by the statisticians and their computers. The survery rules out all of the 59 million Americans who are under the age of 16 as well as those who are confined to mental or penal institutions. The active labor force is considered the sum of all those who fit the BLS definitions of the employed and unemployed:

Who is ampleyed? Anyone 16 or over who did any work at all for pay or profit during the week before the survey is regarded as a jobholder; there is no upper age limit. Included in the employed are part-time workers and temporaries. Even some employees who are not paid are counted: as nor daughter who helps out for at least 15 hours a week in a family-operated enterprise—a mom-and-pop grocery, for example—is counted in the active labor for activ

• Who is unemployed? Anyone for over who actively sought work in the 30 days preceding the survey and is currently available for work is counted as unemployed. Seeding work means pleyment agency, meeting with potential employers, writing letters of application, answering help-wanted ask principles within 30 days and those on layoff waithin 30 days and those on layoff waithin 30 days and those on layoff waithin 10 days and those on layoff waithin 30 days memployed.

When the unemployment figures come under fire—as they characteristically do when they are high—they are accused of both exaggerating and understating the "real" extent of jobless-ness. The overall unemployment rate is indisputably swollens somewhat by the inclusion in the jobless totals of house-inclusion in the zero and the possible state of the properties of the properti

stance, that the jobless rates among heads of households (5.4% vs. 3.0% a year ago) or adult males (6.2% vs. 3.0%) are far better harometers of conomic discress than unemployment among teensess than unemployment among teensel to be found to be supported to be supported to be supported to be supported to the supported to be supported to the supp

In some ways the figures understate unemployment. The jobbes totals do not include the so-called hidden unemployd. They are Americans—most of them women and elderly men—who want jobs but have given up trying to find them. These "discouraged workers" are considered not unemployed but to have left the labor force altogether. As of the last quarter of 1974, the number of the last quarter of 1974 the number of the last part of 1974 the number of the last part of 1974 the number of the last part of 1974 the number of 1974 the

Similarly, the published statistics do not reflect the fact that many of those who are counted as jobholders are only partially employed. According to the BLS, there are 3.7 million Americans part-time jobs because they cannot find full-time work. One little-noted BLS measure called "labor-force time lost" combines partial employment with unemployment on a man-hour basis to show the recession in terms of missing objects. The current rate: 8.9%. missing possible. The current rate: 8.9%.

Obviously, what should be counted in arriving at the overall unemployment in arriving at the overall unemployment figure is debatable. But the main value of the monthly figures is in what they say about the direction in which unemployment is going. What those figures showed last week was that the recent sharp rise in the unemployment at a come to a merciful, if temporary pause—but at a record high level.



CLIENTS QUEUE UP FOR BENEFITS OUTSIDE AN OFFICE OF THE MICHIGAN EMPLOYMENT SECURITY COMMISSION IN DETROIT Also imposing hidden costs on people who never appear in an unemployment line.

the prosperity of the past ten years has well been wiped away. "I really don't understand what this country is going through," he says. "The politicians aren't listening to the people. It's all going crazy." His 113 weekly unemployment check cannot carry his family of five; they have been living off his savings, which will run out by summer—unless he finds a job.

One cruel penalty of unemployment is that it also victimizes the 91.8% of the people in the labor force who still hold jobs. The recession causes unemployment; but unemployment itself is a many people have no work, real personal income and spending go down. As result, companies sales and profits decline. Because demand and profits are once, that increase reduce their spending only sputters at well below efficiency.

No Easy Way. That unhappy sec-

nario is being played out now. Hit by sharp inflation, recession and unemployment, the real purchasing power of Americans has declined by 5.2% in the past year. Sales volume has fallen, and corporate profits plunged by 2.1% in from the third quarter to the fourth quarter of last year. Manufacturers in the fourth quarter cut their capital-spending appropriations by 2.0%. Today the nation's well below capacity, and productivity during the fourth quarter fell at an annual rate of 3.7%.

unemployment has vastly increased spending by governments at all levels-for food stamps. welfare, Medicaid. Just to pay their current bills, many states will have either to raise taxes or postpone capital construction. The former would weaken some of the buoyant effects of a federal tax cut; the latter would swell unemployment. The cost of unemployment compensation in this fiscal year will be at least \$18 billion, and it stands to rise next year. To help pay for it, the Labor Department is urging states to raise company taxes that feed the unemployment compensation funds; if this happens, it will show up in higher prices.

There is no quick, easy or riskproof way to bring down unemployment. It has been caused primarily by a conscious federal policy of restricting spending and money growth in order to fight an oppressive inflation. The restrictive policy has helped reduce the rate of inflation, and that may be one of the necessary preconditions for a recovery. Most businessmen, however, question whether such high unemployment is still necessary to fight inflation. Says Chairman William May of American Can Co.: "This is a national emergency. Things have gone downhill so fast that it is dangerous to say that our high unemployment benefits anything. This level of joblessness is not going to be tolerated by the people over a long period of time. May urges that Congress rush through, among other measures, an expanded public works program and a 15% investment-tax credit for five years (instead of President Ford's proposed 12% credit for one year)

John Bunting, chairman of the First Pennsylvania bank, argues that the Government has already waited much too long to loosen up and stimulate the economy, and that the longer it dallies the greater will be the risk that it will do too much too late. Says he: "Ultimately, we will have more inflation as a result of the Administration's tolerance of high unemployment than we would have if it were thwarted right now. [Treasury Secretary] Bill Simon says that he is horrified by the size of the deficit-well, I would be horrified if the deficit were not that large." Bunting calls for "a much more aggressive policy" toward easing the money supply and increasing federal spending. In his view, there should be big outlays for mass transportation and "a moon-shotlike operation to develop solar energy.

Economist Murray Weidenbaum, a Republican, urges Congress to eut taxes quickly in order to stimulate demand and employment. "The Ways and Means proposal for a \$100 to \$200 rebate is peanuts," he says. "It's not enough to enable anybody to put a down payment on a big-ticket item. There was nothing wrong with Ford's idea for rebates of up

to \$1,000." Weidenbaum also recommends that the Government speed theow of federal contracts: "Order today what is supposed to be ordered next month." Like Bunting, he is afraid that if Congress waits too long, unemployment will go so high that Congress will later overreact and overstimulate the economy—and kick off more inflation.

Tox Cut. The economy is so soft that even big tax cuts and easier money would not add much to inflation. After extensive computerized studies, Economiat David Grove, vice president of cut of up to \$30 billion would add no more than two-tenths of a percentage point to living costs between now and the end of 1976. Economist Otto Exstein, head of Data Ressurces, Inc. To a train the cost of living through the end of the next year by sever-neiths of one percent.

There is a strong argument that such a stimulative policy would not only reduce unemployment but would actually shrink the budget deficits in future years. So long as the economy remains underemployed, tax collections will be low, and deficits will be huge. Each \$1 of output in private enterprise adds about 40¢ to the tax revenues of the federal, state and local governments. Economists reckon that if the U.S. now had a "full employment" economy, it would be producing some \$175 billion more goods and services annually, and federal and state governments would be collecting \$70 billion more in taxes, thus reducing or eliminating their deficits.

Until recently, economists defined full employments as 4% rate of job-lessness, Lately they have raised that figures are seen as the second of the season of the second of

WHEN CROWN ROYAL ISN'T YOUR BAG

GO FORESTERING

Forestering is enjoying our premium whisky for all the right reasons

Drinking is one thing. Forestering is something else

> FOR OLD SRAIGHT BOURSON WHISKY

Why Detroit's are secretly praising

One thing about the men of the engineering profession: they give credit where credit is due. Which may explain all the nice letters and "confidential" phane allowing received from Detroit income any new confidential.

"confidential" phone calls we've received from Detroit since our new Rabbit has been out.

Why all the praise?

Well, forgetting the low \$2,999* price for a moment, let's start at the top:

93 miles per hour.

A Rabbit is very fast. And although we obviously don't recommend 93 mph (please obey all speed limits), it is reassuring to know as you're about to get onto a hectic expressway, that a Rabbit has the power for great acceleration. From 0 to 50 in only 8.2 seconds. That's quicker than a Monza 2 + 2.

38 miles per gallon.

A Rabbit is very thrifty. In the recent 1975model Federal Environmental Protection Agency fuel economy tests, the Rabbit averaged 38 miles to the gallon on the highway. It averaged a nifty 24 in tougher stop-and-go city traffic.

As big inside as some mid-size cars.

The Robbit is a sub-compact sized car. That's on the outside. Open the door and it's a different story. 80% of the space in the car is devoted to functional room. There's actually more head and leg room inside than in some mid-size cars.



You get this feeling of roominess immediately, as you stretch out behind the wheel and look out through the huge front windshield.

Visibility is incredible.

The main engineering feat that makes all this room possible is our revolutionary transvesse engine, or stated more simply, an engine that is mounted sideways. Besides adding space, placing the engine in this manner, and slanting it, has a lot to do with why the Robbit gets such good gas milleage. For now you have a very low slihouetted front end which means lower wind resistance.

which means better gas mileage.

As you may have noticed already, the Rabbit comes only one way. As a Hatchback. And you don't pay a penny more for that extra door.

In addition to the 2-door model shown, there is a 4-door available. Four doors plus a Hatchback.

That's a lot of ins and outs in one car.

How we got it to handle so easily.

The best way to describe driving a Rabbit is that it just feels right.

The rack-and-pinion steering, designed exclusively for the Rabbit, allows you to feel in complete control, especially on fast, tight turns.

Another VW exclusive, an independent stabilizer rear axle, means independent wheel travel for more riding comfort and added safety on rough roads.

As is true on only two
Detroit cars, the Eldorado
and Toronado, the Rabbit has
front-wheel drive for roadhugging ability.

The firm and sporty ride of the car is enhanced by rigid unitized



engineers Volkswagen's Rabbit.



body/chassis construction, controlled spring and shock rates and longer suspension travel. And when it comes to parking, the day of the steering wheel battle is over. The Rabbit's only 3% turns. lock-to-lock.

It has safety features Detroit hasn't even thought of yet.

Actually the whole concept of the Rabbit is to be a safety package within itself. Its size, shape, weight, handling ability, just about everything. Added too, are things no one

domestic car has. Like a dual diagonal braking system, double-jointed steering column that breaks aside in the event of impact, negative steering roll radius for directional stability in the event of a front wheel blowout, and a specially designed hatchback door that keeps the rear window clear for better visibility.

Owner's Security Blanket.

To make sure your Rabbit lives a lively and a carefree life, it's backed by the most advanced car

coverage plan in the automotive industry: The Volkswagen Owner's Security Blanket with exclusive Computer Analysis.

All for \$2,999.

Lately, a lot of automotive executives have been giving speeches on "the car of the future." They see it as being small, low-priced, but with increased interior dimensions and more economical performance. We started designing that car 5 years ago.

Ladies and gentlemen of the automotive industry, your car of the future, our Rabbit, is here today.

And it will only cost you \$2,999 to try it out. Happy days <u>are</u> here again.



*Suggested retail price Rabbit 2-door Hatchback, P.O.E. Transportation, local taxes and other dealer delivery charges additional. 'See your dealer for more details. ©Volkswagen of America, Inc.

There's Gas Energy in a lump of coal.



By 1980 coal gasification could begin to be a real help in meeting America's energy needs.

The gas industry and government are working together to turn coal into clean gas energy.

Use gas wisely. It's clean energy for today and tomorrow.

A American Gas





RUINS OF SAVOY HOTEL AFTER THE FIGHTING & SURVIVING GUERRILLA (CENTER) BEING LED AWAY BY ISRAELI CAPTORS

THE WORLD

THE MIDDLE EAST

Terrorism Complicates a Mission of Peace

The timing could hardly have been worse—or better, depending upon one's viewpoint. Shortly after Secretary of viewpoint. Shortly after Secretary of initial properties of the secretary of the se

The eight fedayeen on the suicidal mission were dropped by a fishing smack, which was later captured by Is-raeli patrol ships outside Israel's territorial waters. The raiders grounded their boat near a sewage outlet on the edge of Tel Aviv. Unnoticed, they stepped ashore, armed with rapid-fire Kalashnikovs and high-explosive charges.

Terrorist Graffiti. The Palestinians first targets were some moviegores emerging from a late-night screening of A Streetear Named Desire at 12 day's Chiema One theater. Next the fedayeen nearly hall where as wedding reception was in progress. Caught in the attack were the terrified bride and groon, who ran for their lives. As Israeli police returned the fire, the fedayeen ducked into the progress of the progress of the progress of the Street, where they took hostage a down surprised guests. By the time Israeli paratroopers liberated the four-story building in a carefully coordinated predawn raid, seven of the fedayeen had died, along with eight hostages and three Israeli soldiers. Eleven other persons were wounded (see box).

Al Fatah, the largest Palestinian fedayeen group, claimed responsibility for the attack. That was something of a

TERRORIST STRIKE

When the Hall

Seventian Hall

Mediterranean

See

Dan Hann

January

Janua

shock, since Fatah is headed by Naser Arnfat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who is regarded by many Arabs as a relatively moderate Palestinian leader. The raid, Fatah spokessmen explained, was to hamper the peacemaking efforts of the U.S. Section 15 of the Palestinian leader in the Palestinian leader in the Palestinian spokessmen explained, was to hamper the peacemaking efforts of the U.S. Section 15 of the Palestinian spokessment palest

SINGER'S EFFORTS WILL FAIL. Declining P.L.O. But what really worries the P.L.O. leadership is that Kissinger may well succeed in getting Israel and Egypt to reach a second-stage disengagement agreement in the Sinai. The Palestinians fear that such a deal would not only separate Egypt from the other Arab confrontation powers but also dilute the credibility and momentum that the P.L.O. gained last year from the Arab summit at Rabat and Arafat's appearance at the United Nations. Israeli officials, at least, insist that Arafat's position is declining significantly on the West Bank because Palestinians are beginning to question his power. For the West Bankers, a plausible alternative to Arafat is Jordan's King Hussein, with whom both the Israelis and Kissinger would prefer to deal.

What effect would the Savoy Hotel raid have on Kissinger's latest mission? In part, the answer depended on Israel's reaction to the raid. The terrorist at-



FEDAYEEN BODY CARRIED FROM HOTEL Fears of retaliation.

tack was the ninth major foray into Israel by the Palestinians since Giyrat Shemona last April. All together, 62 Israelis have been killed, 170 others have been wounded; almost all were civilians. After previous attacks, the Israeli government reacted with eye-for-eye ferocity, usually with devastating air raids and armored attacks on Palestinian ref-

THE WORLD

ugee camps or fedayeen outposts in southern Lebanon. But last week the Israelis did not undertake an instant retaliatory response. "That is exactly what the terrorists want us to do," said an Israeli military spokesman. "By attacking them, we would be playing right into their hands and pointing up the Palestinian problem." of military intelligence, discounted Egyptian support for the fedayeen. "Let's be fair with Cairo radio," Gazit said in an unusual Israeli judgment. "The only statement by Egypt was very moderate. Still, Premier Yitzhak Rabin promised: "They will be punished"-but he did not say

when or how.

The Palestinians obviously feared immediate retaliation. Refugee camps in Lebanon reported TIME Correspondent

Jordan Bonfante, were cleared, children were dismissed from schools. The day after the raid, five Lebanese air force jet trainers flying over Tripoli met an unsexpected hail of gunfire from Palestinian gunners in a refugee camp, who had mistaken them for Israeli Phantoms.

The U.S. reacted with quick expres-

sions of support and sympathy for Isratels. President Ford at his press conference described the ratid as "the wrong way to try and reads whe the difficult probway to try and reads when the difficult probwhere he had stopped off at Cardiff For Secretary James Callaghan's longtime Secretary James Callaghan's longtime parliamentary service to the city, Kissinger deplored "a random and sensete trapic dimensions of this conflict." It underlined, he added, "the importance of making propress toward peace."

Rebuffed by Saddat. Kissinger, after stopping in Brussels to consult on Cyprus with Greek Foreign Minister Dimitros Bitsios, flew to Aswan, 400 miles south of Cairo, and met Egyptian Pressumed his familiar shuttle diplomacy from Damascus to Jerusselm and back from Damascus to Jerusselm and back consultation of the property of the consumed representation of the consumed representation of the contraction of the co

At week's end, it was unclear how much the fedayeen raid had compromised the negotiating position of Sadat, who is eager for further peace moves but worries that making a separate deal with Israel would seemingly isolate him with Israel would seemingly isolate him Full of the peace of the peace of the peace Syrian President Hafez Assad and the FLO. have both been putting pressure on Sadat to maintain a unified Arab front, which lately has shown some signs

The Raid: 'A Score to Settle'

TIME's Jerusalem correspondent, Marlin Levin, and Reporter Daniel Drooz were both on the scene during the fedayeen raid and Israeli counterattack on the Savoy Hotel. Their report:

The first sounds of trouble came shortly before midnight when gunfire abruptly shattered the raucous gaiety of Tel Aviv's waterfront, a center of the city's night life. After killing a passing Israeli soldier who fired at them as they came up off the beach from their rubber dinghy, the commandos, loaded down with rucksacks and Kalashnikov rifles, ran down Samuel Esplanade, the main shore drive, firing at a movie theater and tossing grenades at a wedding hall Passers-by fled in all directions, but few suspected an Arab attack. Said Gabi Edri, 17, a waiter at a wedding reception: "We thought they were criminals with a score to settle."

Passing the large scafront Ambassador Hotel, the guerrillas turned down a side street to the colorful but seedy 28room Savoy, a favorite spot for higherpriced prostitutes. By then the whole neighborhood was aroused. Alya Meshali, 18, heard the noise and stepped out of her home to see what it was. A bullet struck her, blowing away most of one leg. Sofia Gamliel, an Arabic-speaking native of Morocco, went to the window and was surprised to hear the guerrillas talking below. "They went across the street to the hotel," said Mrs. Gamliel, "and then I saw through my window shutter bullets of all colors in the sky."

The commandos stormed into the hotel with guns blazing, killing the desk clerk and a woman guest on the spot. Going from room to room, they quickly rounded up hostages and took them to the fourth floor. Among them were Kochava Levi, 30, a petite, black-haired prostitute who had ducked into the Savoy earlier to avoid a police roundup, and Avrahim Azikri, 28, an interior decorator and a guest in the hotel. "They told us if we behaved, everything would be okay," Azikri recalled later. "But when I heard the Israeli troops starting their attack, I thought it was every man for himself. The Arabs had put dynamite next to the wall, and I knew they meant to explode it. So I ran into a bathroom and crouched between two walls. When the dynamite went off, plaster fell over me, but except for a shrapnel wound in my shoulder, I was okay."

Immediately after the guerrillas seized the hotel, Israeli police and soldiers began pouring into the area. Houses adjacent to the Savoy were evacuated. Around the corner, army medical teams set up field hospitals and aid stations. Swarms of neighborhood kids and alet-night revelers gathered to watch the action as armored cars took up positions at either end of the street. K-9 corpsmen with German shepherds stationed themselves in alleways to make

SOLDIERS ESCORT KOCHAVA LEVI OUTSIDE HOTEL



of strain. Two weeks ago the Palestinians publicly announced that they were sending a delegation of second-ranking P.L.O. executives to Cairo to discuss the Kissinger negotiations with Sadat. In a sharp rebuff, Sadat said that he would discuss such matters only with the P.L.O. leadership (meaning Arafat): the delegation never arrived. In what was apparently the result of a bald attempt to embarrass Sadat, the rubber dinghy used by the fedayeen at Tel Aviv last week carried a marking, "Egyptian Army Seamen," and its lone survivor at first insisted that he had set out from Port Said. (He later admitted that the party embarked from Lebanon.) Sadat must be cautious at a time when much of the Arab world is applauding the "heroism" of the fedaveen foray on Tel Aviv

The raid also affected Israeli Premier Rabin's room for maneuvering Intentionally or not, the Palestinians by their attacks refocused the Israelis' concern for security. If Rabin appears willing to give away too much, he will be sharply attacked by hawks within his own Laber Party and by the opposition. Ironically, Rabin's sharpest critic in the Rosset, Likud Bioc Leader Menachem Knesset, Likud Bioc Leader Menachem Knesset, Likud Bioc Leader Menachem Knesset, Likud Bioc Leader Menachem Lord Begin used the hotel as a hideout in the days before Israeli independenwhen he battled the British as leader of the Jewish terrorist organization Irsun

Zvai Leumi.



SADAT & KISSINGER AT ASWAN

Be fair with Radio Cairo but punish the Palestinians.

Kissinger's major problem is to depared to

fine and possibly extend the perimeters

of agreement. At this point, Sadat can-

not agree to a formal declaration of non-

belligerency, which Israel demands in

return for withdrawing from the Mitla

and Giddi passes and surrendering the

Abu Rudeis oilfields in the Sinai de-

sert. But the Israeli government is pre-



RABIN SURVEYING HOTEL DAMAGE

sure none of the commandos escaped. By 12:45 in the morning, Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin was at army headquarters in Tel Aviv. Defense Minister Shimon Peres and Chief of Staff Mordecai Gur arrived soon after at Ge'ula Street to take command. Meanwhile, the Arab commandos chose Kochava Levi. who had picked up Arabic in the streets, to translate to Israeli officials their demand for a plane to take the hostages and ten Palestinians held in Israeli prisons to Damascus or Paris. Bandaging the wounded with ripped sheets and shouting the guerrillas' terms down from a fourth-floor window. Kochaya emerged as the unexpected heroine of the drama. She managed to keep negotiations going until the Israelis were ready to attack, and then slipped free

After consuling by phone with Cabinet members in Jerusalem, as well as with Peres and Gur on the scene, Rabin decided that not only would there be no deal but that the attack on the guerrillas would be quick and decisive. Using darkness as their cover, two specially trained assault teams crept into the alley near the Savoy. At 5:13 a.m. shortly before surnies, two short bursts of automatic weapons fire signaled the Israeli attack. A few moments of quiet

herself when she was allowed to accom-

pany one of the wounded from the hotel.

passed; then the assault troops opened fire on the hotel from all directions. The sound of grenades and mortars exploding was almost lost in the din of small arms and heavy machine guns as Israelis and terrorists exchanged fire.

The initial shooting lasted for five mutues. After a brief Iull, there came sporadic bursts of gunfire from inside the skowy, then the long stacato of a Ka-lashnikov, It was answered by the wind-sucking thump of an Israeli bazooka fired from the beach 100 yds. away. Sudenly the building shook with a tremendous explosion as a bomb rigged by the terrorists went off. The hotel's third and fourth floors collapsed in rubble. The attack was over. It was \$23 a.m.

When daylight came, the charred head of one of the guerrillas could be seen in the wreckage of what had been the hotel's third floor. Blood ran down the broken concrete foundation, and bloodstained bedding billowed in the morning breeze. A three-man team, assisted by a cherry-picker crane, began searching the debris for bodies.

As an army spokesman drew up a list of the dead and wounded, a stretcher passed. There was a body on it, about the size of a child, wrapped in an old yellow shawl that was now a shroud. Authorities tentatively identified it as that of an elderly Frenchwoman who had been staying at the hotel.

pared to make less extensive territorial withdrawals in exchange for symbolic tokens of Egypt's peaceful intentions, like its allowing Israeli cargoes to pass through the reopened Suez Canal. One sticking point is Israel's insistence that any further disengagement deal be spelled out in a specific document: Sadat may be reluctant to sign for fear of criticism he might get from other Arab powers. Another problem is that Israel, which has expensively fortified its present positions on the Sinai, would be reluctant to withdraw to interim lines that it might have to build up and then abandon after third-stage disengagement talks.

Bleak Alternative. Kissinger must also worry about the future of the U.N. peacekeeping and observer forces on both the Sinai and the Golan Heights, although this is not his main concern. Israel complains that the forces are ineffective. It also objects to the present requirement that the mandate must be renewed every six months, which automatically creates negotiating crises. Rabin's government would prefer a change in the U.N. mandate to make the Security Council ultimately responsible for terminating the observer forces; among other things, this would allow the U.S. to veto any proposal for withdrawing troops

For both Sadat and Rabin, however, success for the Kissinger talks should appear far more attractive than the alternative. If Kissinger fails, the odds are high that the two nations will drift into another war of attrition, sindirft into another war of attrition, sindirft into another war of attrition, sincondition of the same of the state of the same and the same of the same of the three three inkely to result from such a station had succeeded.

CAMBODIA

Asphyxiating the Capital

The first rocket of the day fell on the first market and killed seven people. The second fell 30 meters from the tensis courts at the Cercle Sportil and thereafter, for once, the courts remained unsued. Four hours later the bombshell hit: a 107-mm, rocket slammed into a crowded street in front of the Monerom Hotel, killing eleven people instantly and maining a dozen more: a flaming it Monda was catapulted onto a pedicab whose lone occupant was altrady dead.

Despite such daily scenes of horror, the besieged Cambodian capital of Phnom-Penh held out for another desperate week. The Khmer Rouge insurgents kept up their asphyxiating presure on the city's Medong River Iffeline, thereby depriving the capital of crucial power of the city's defense. Southern Fernandez, the Vietnesses Costhene Fernandez, the Vietnesses Costhene

endy, conceded that the situation on the Mekong was "hopeless." Meanwhile, the capitals sole maintaining lifetime of emergency supplies was the Phonose Penn are present to the street of the street when the street is the street when the street were shelling it with as many as of nocket and 105-mm artillery rounds per day. One U.S. cargo DC-8 carrying rice from Saigon was hit by rocket fire. But after a brief halt, the airtift of food and ammunitain continued.

Verge of Collapse. Life within the surrounded capital sputtered on. A few street markets were still operating, and the city's electricity and water systems were working irregularly. Occasionally a widow could be seen traveling by pedicab to recover the body of her husband. Every morning, foreign visiors awoke Every morning, foreign visiors awoke the control of the control of the control clerk of their hotel rooms in the hope of deflecting shrapel.

Despite signs that the city was on the verge of collapse, the Khmer Rouge army refrained from making a full-scale has been tripled in the last year alone by the presence of 1,400,000 refugees from the countryside. Instead the insurgents maintained their successful—and relatively inexpensive—campaign of attition. "The Khmer Rouge are everywhere," reported TiME Correspondent Peter Range. They do not concentrate their forces heavily, do not overextend themselves, do not shoot for the large objectives until they have taken several smaller ones first."

In a somewhat fainthearted resonue to the crisis, ailing, ineffectual President Lon Nol let it be known once again that his government was prepared to resign in exchange for peace talks —but nobody expected the Khmer Rouge to take up the offer. In Washington, Congress continued to debate the merits of an Administration request for increasing emergency aid to the Lon increasing the Longitude of the Lonin Longitude of the Longitude

CHILDREN REFUGEES (BELOW LEFT) LINE UP FOR FOOD IN PHNOM-PENH. RIGHT, VICTIM OF



"It's safe. It's not really money until I decide to use it."

Jack Gardner, Sales Office Manager



"I'm uneasy about carrying alot of eash... on matter what. Once....when we were going up north to visit my wife's family ... the transmission in our car went out. It was late on a Saturday afternoon... and we had to stay an extra two days to get it repaired. Actually, it turned out to be a nice time. We often use BankAmericart* to take care of unexpected expenses."



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(Which makes it look terrific.)

(Which makes it look terrific.)
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doesn't cost more. (Which means more for your money.) And because More is more flavorful (yet surprisingly mild), it will be one of the most satisfying smoking experiences you'll ever have.

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More. It looks like more. It tastes like more. It's more in every way except price.

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New Menthol More. It's a cooling blast.

If you like menthol, now you can have More Menthol

More Menthol gives you more coolness, more tobacco enjoyment. It's the new 120 mm menthol cigarette that starts with a blast, and cruises you through the longest, slowest-burning,

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government forces, as Correspondent Range discovered while on a military operation inside Cambodia last week.

The Cambodian 3rd Division had been ordered to rescue 100 government soldiers who were pinned down by the Khmer Rouge in a temple near Ang Markowski and the sold of the sold

Then, reported Range, everything seemed to go wrong. "First, the acting 3rd Division commander, Colonel Seng Sunthan, discovered the unit from the 2nd Division going down the wrong road and had to turn them around. Then the lieutenant colonel commanding a contingent of the 1st Division refused to take orders from Sunthan, who barely out-ranked him. After that came an unseemly quarrel, replete with abouting and view of foreign reporters and a military attache, as well as a number of Cambodian Officers and enlisted men. When Doddian officers and enlisted men. When

the operation finally began, it was supported by three decore 7-28 bombing sorties, dozens of gunship runs and endless (165-mm. howitzer rounds. It took 2½ days to complete what, with overwhelmbeen a swift and devastating operation." The wastage of ammunition was almost beyond belief, Range noted, but the most critical problem was the lack of trained critical problem was the lack of trained meeting the control of the meeting of the control of the control of the meeting of the control of the control of the meeting of the control of the

Final Stages. At the Government Palace in Phonon-Penh, Premier Long Boret talked of new mobilization to replace the 300 or so government troops that are being killed every day. U.S. of heids, however, were distressed that the Premier still had no plans for changing the student deferment system, which allows thousands of prosperous young form the student deferment system, which allows thousands before the control of the con

What exactly were the insurgents' intentions? Two weeks ago, the clandestine Khmer Rouge radio commented

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: WOUNDED IN MILITARY
HOSPITAL. PARENT WITH INJURED CHILD.
CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT ARTILLERY
POSITION NORTH OF PHNOM-PENH

that "the Cambodian revolution has reached its final stage of victory." In Peking last week, however, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, titular head of the insurgents' shadow government, implied that the Khmer Rouge would wait for the Lon Nol government to fall of its own weight, and that "victory is inevitable by the end of this year." Whether the victory would be specifically Sihanouk's is another question. The feisty prince who led his country to independence in 1953 is still the most popular man in Cambodia, but within the Communist-led Khmer Rouge movement he is little more than a figurehead

In preparation for the possible evacuation of the 400 American civilians who are still in Cambodia, the U.S. carrier Okinawa was standing by off Cambodia, in the Gulf of Siam, with about 1,000 Marines aboard. By week's end enemy rockets were still falling on the airport, but the evacuation of foreigners seemed somewhat less imminent.

Worries About a Bloodbath

Time is running out," warned President Ford during a televised press conference last week. "If we don't give the aid, there is no hope." There was a note of urgency in Ford's voice as he made a last-ditch appeal for quick congressional approval of his request for \$222 million in emergency funds to bolster the tottering regime of President Lon Nol.

Ford insisted that his Administration had no intention of sending U.S. troops back to Indochina. "All American forces have come home," he said. "They will not go back." But his strong pitch for more aid was based on two major worries. First, that a Khmer Rouge victory would lead to a bloodbath in Phnom-Penh. "The record shows in both Viet Nam and Cambodia," he said, "that Communist takeover

our friends in Indochina." he said. our word and to our friends.

Grueling Plunge. Despite the vehemence of Ford's statement, the Administration faces a stiff fight to get the Cambodian aid measure passed. Still, the President did pick up some support from seven Representatives and a Senator who returned last week from a

of a huge refugee center set up in publican Representative from New Jersey, said: "I can't believe this. I've never seen anything like it." At a political prison in Saigon, one 19-year-old girl, who had been arrested several weeks ago in a government crackdown on the press, told California's Republican Congressman Pete McCloskey, "They beat us

some members of the delegation remained unalterably opposed to military aid for either Cambodia or South Viet Nam. In Phnom-Penh, New York Dem-

whirlwind three-day fact-finding tour of Indochina. Several of the legislators looked more favorably on Ford's request than they had before the trip. Like the countless other congressional missions to Indochina over the past decade, the most recent junket was a grueling, rapid plunge into the complexities of war and politics. There were mandatory visits with the heads of state, Nguyen Van Thieu in Saigon and Lon Nol in beleaguered Phnom-Penh. Congressmen William Chappell and John Murtha donned fatigues and trooped off to a Cambodian army post. After a tour Phnom-Penh's unfinished Cambodiana Hotel, a shaken Millicent Fenwick, Re-

very much. In part because of such encounters,

of an area does not bring an end to violence but, on the contrary, subjects the innocents to new horrors." Secondly, Ford argued that a failure to supply more aid to Cambodia would harm America's credibility with its allies elsewhere in the world. "If we cease to help we will have been false to ourselves, to

long a vocal opponent of U.S. involvement in Indochina, remarked: "I'm concerned about the humanitarian situation, the kids' bellies. The military situation was lost long ago." Minnesota Democrat Donald Fraser was more explicit: "In my judgment, the only thing we can do is help arrange for the orderly transfer of power to the [Khmer] insurgents.

ocratic Representative Bella Abzug,

During the trip, most of the Rep-resentatives heard stories of Khmer Rouge atrocities; they returned to the U.S. convinced that there would be a politically directed massacre if the Lon Nol government should topple. Said Mc-Closkey, who before the trip had opposed any additional aid: "When I got there. I found that neither side was taking any prisoners. I found that the Khmer Rouge was going into villages. separating out the leading citizens and killing them with hammers. There are two million people in that perimeter. Five of the six Congressmen who toured Cambodia agreed (Bella Abzug was in the minority) to recommend an appropriation of \$116 million for ammunition and spare parts for Lon Nol's forces. Their hope: that the government can stave off collapse until the summer monsoon slows down the Communist offensive

Deferred Action. Nonetheless. there was only a slim chance that Congress would pass the Administration's aid request. "I don't believe they can get it through this Congress at all," said Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield. As if to prove his point, the House Appropriations subcommittee last week deferred action on the measure. That does not mean that the request is dead: but it certainly delays it, and delay is just what Lon Nol can ill afford

Jaundiced by a decade of Administration appeals for just a little more support, most Congressmen seem convinced that additional aid will only prolong the Cambodian war without changing its outcome. Despite the testimony of some legislators recently returned from Cambodia, most Congressmen remain unconvinced that a Khmer Rouge victory will lead inevitably to terrible recriminations. In fact, many foreign observers in Cambodia argue that the Communists would have nothing to gain from a massacre in Phnom-Penh. Moreover, the Khmer Rouge has already promised that virtually everybody-except for the seven top leaders of the current Phnom-Penh regime-will be pardoned in the wake of its victory.

In any case, most Congressmen seem far less worried over the Administration's warnings of possible future disaster than with the disaster that is taking place right now. Congress can act with amazing speed when it wants to. The fact that both the House and the Senate are going slow on the aid issue indicates that they want the war to be over.

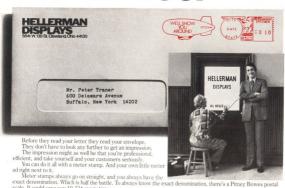


FENWICK LIGHTS A PIPE IN SAIGON



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WEST GERMANY

The Lorenz Kidnaping: A Rehearsal?

In the chill of a Berlin winter's night. a man bound by tape to a bench in Wilmersdorf park struggled to free himself. Eventually, the man escaped his bonds. walked out of the park, found a telephone booth and called his wife. "Hello. Marianne. This is Peter," he said. The caller was Peter Lorenz, chairman of West Berlin's Christian Democratic Union and the party's candidate for mayor of the city. Six days earlier, he had been kidnaped by a gang of militant young anarchists, whose daring act startled all of West Germany (TIME, March 10). In the end, Lorenz was released because government officials reluctantly

LORENZ KISSES WIFE AFTER RELEASE



BERLIN POLICE ROUNDING UP LEFTI



decided to comply with the terrorists' demands.

Lorenz's call to his wife triggered a vast manhunt. Within minutes, police roadblocks sealed off the southwest section of the city, in which Wilmersdorf park is located. Special flying squadrons raided known leftist hangouts—cafés, clubhouses and homes; doors were smashed in, safes and filing cabinets broken open.

West Berlin officials offered a ravad of \$65,500 for information leading to the arrests of eight suspected mentage of the control of the control of the control of the terrorist gain that claimed credit for the kidnapring.* All the suspects have been no police posters for more than a year. They are accused of being responsible to the control of the

Drug Injections. Although more than 200 left-wing extremists were swept up by police dragnets, all were released within 24 hours for lack of evidence. At week's end Berlin officials conceded that they had few clues and no real leads to the kidnapers—continuing proof of the skill with which the entire abduction plot was executed.

At a press conference following his release, Lorenz said that the terrorists —after overpowering him and his chauffeur while he was driving to C.D.U. headquarters—immediately sedated him with drug injections. He was kept under heavy guard in what

Lorenz described as a "cell"—
a-7-ft. by 10-ft. room, containing only a bed, a chair
and a table—located in a Berlin cellar. Said he: "I have no
idea where it was." Lorenz insisted that he had not been
tortured and that considering
the circumstances, his treatment by the abductors was
"correct."

He was allowed to read the newspapers and thus learned that the C.D.U. had captured 43.9% of the vote in Berlin's local elections, thereby becoming the city's largest party. This was not enough, however, to elect Lorenz as mayor. Social Democratic Incumbent Klaus Schütz unil keep the job, even though his party fell to second place

The movement takes its name from an incident on June 2, 1967, in which West Berlin police killed a student demonstrating against a visit by the Shah of Iran to West Germany. —with 42.7% of the vote—because it can form a coalition with the Free Democrats, who garnered 7.2% of the vote.

The kidnapers maintained their anonymity by negotiating with the police solely by letters mailed through the post or delivered to third parties, and demanding that the authorities respond via television. In response to the kidnapers' demands. West German and West Berlin officials agreed to free six anarchists who had been imprisoned for crimes ranging from attempted murder to membership in an illegal organization. Curiously, one of the six, Horst Mahler, elected to remain in jail on the ground that the kidnapers' use of random violence was useless in fomenting revolution in Germany.

Heinrich Albertz, an Evangelical misster and former Berlin mayor, volunteered to act as a hostage, in compliance with the kidnapers' demand. Along with the freed prisoners, he boarded a Lufthansa Boeing 907 at Frankfurt airport. After being denied landing rights at Tripoil, Damascus and Addis Ababa, the jet was finally able to put down in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, where the leftist regime guaranteed the anarchists's safety.

Returning to Berlin, Albertz appeared on television and read a handwritten message from the freed prisoners; it apparently contained a code word signifying that they were safe. Six hours later, Lorenz's wife received the phone call from the booth near Wil-

mersdorf park. Almost as soon as he was free, politicians began to second-guess each other about the handling of the case. Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt apparently had urged a tough stance in dealing with the terrorists. Ultimately, he yielded to Mayor Schütz and the Berlin C.D.U. leadership, who argued that everything should be done to protect Lorenz because they feared the kidnapers would kill him. Nevertheless, Schmidt's opponents, notably Bavarian Conservative Franz Josef Strauss, renewed their now standard attacks on the Chancellor and his party for being soft on radicals, negligent about internal security and lacking the political will to combat anarchists. On television, Schmidt responded that leaders of all political parties had agreed to the steps taken to free Lorenz: he scheduled a major Bundestag debate this week on the state of internal security.

Some officials fear that the kidnapers, emboldened by their success, may strike again. Federal Interior Minister Werner Maihofer warned that the Lorenz episode may have only been a dress rehearsal for the freeing of Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof'—the anarchist gang leaders who are to stand trial May 21 in Stuttgart on charges of murder and grand larrenty. Berlin courts previously found Baader guilty of arson and Meinhof of attempted murder.

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FRANCE

Rescuing the Ramparts of Order

Charles de Gaulle once described the French armed forces as "the rampart of order." Today that trampart looks as if it were part of a half-ruined fortress. Morale in the tranks is so low, warned General Alain de Boissieu in a top-secret report that leaked to the press as I December, that an upbeaval simarmy. Even the professional cader of officers, wrote Boissieu (who happens to be De Gaulle's son-in-law), "have lost

confidence in the hierarchy Last week, prodded by President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the French Cabinet took some major steps to alleviate the army's malaise: the pay of conscripts was tripled (from 60e a day to a still paltry \$1.80), recruits were guaranteed a free monthly trip home, a modernization program for barracks will be stepped up, and the promotion system will be reformed to allow young officers to rise faster in rank. "The decisions taken today are only the first step," said Giscard. In fact, they were really a second step. Last January he shook up France's military leadership by naming Yvon Bourges, 53, a tough, energetic and sometimes abrasive Gaullist, as Minister of Defense to replace the ineffectual Jacques Soufflet. General Marcel Bigeard, 59, a paratroop hero and one of France's most decorated soldiers, was named Bourges's deputy

named bodrges acquelles. The reforms may not have come a moment too soon. For nearly a year, farfiees have been getting angrier and angrier and have even dared to demonstrate publicly. Just before the reforms were announced, 50 conscripts protested in Nancy during a conference organized by Young Communists to discuss conditions in the army. Several days

later 150 soldiers, their fists clenched, marched through Verdun.

Military officials do not dispute the legitimacy of the soldiers' complaints. Before last week's pay raise, the 220,000 conscripts in the 338,000-man army were the lowest salaried troops in Western Europe; they could barely afford a daily beer at the local bistro. Nearly 90% of their barracks were constructed at or before the start of the century. At Evreux, soldiers of the 41st Communications Regiment have no hot water in their quarters, must trudge to a separate building for frequently nonfunctioning showers and shiver through winter reveilles because the ancient coal furnace has to be extinguished at night to avoid the danger of fire

have passed the highly competitive hochot, which qualifies them to enter a university or specialized technical college. Nonetheless, they still spend most of their compulsory year of military serpositive of the properties of the properties of part of the properties of the properties of a properties of the properties of the protein a properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the protein a properties of the properties of the

About 30% of today's conscripts

Morale has also deteriorated among the cadres (officers and senior noncoms), who say that they lack the money and equipment to train the recruits properly. Although the 33,000 volunteer privates (who have enlisted for at least three years) are better paid than the research of the senior private such as the senior private such as the senior private with the senior private senior

complain of limited opportunities for advancement. Almost all soldiers lack what one French colonel calls "a sense of goal, a mission" and feel that they are unappreciated by the public. It is no wonder that about 40% of the army's cadre slots are unfilled and that both conscripts and officers have been edging politically toward the left.

High-Price Doomsday. The cause of the malaise is well understood: France has tried to develop its highly touted nuclear force de frappe while retaining a large conventional armed force, all for an expenditure in 1974 of \$9 billion or less than 3% of the gross national product. In comparison, the U.S. spends some 6% of its G.N.P. and Britain almost 5% on defense. Although the nuclear program has been partly successful, at least in the sense that Washington and Moscow must take France's fleet of bombers and missile-firing submarines into account in constructing their doomsday scenarios of atomic confrontation, it has come at a high price. Limited funds remain for the army, and most of that is earmarked for equipment rath-

er than personnel. The Cabinet's action last week may be the start of a general evaluation by the government of its armed forces. "Our army has fallen asleep," admits Gen-eral Bigeard; to awaken it. Paris will probably weigh a number of proposals. Among them: eliminating the army's cumbersome divisions and forming troops into highly mobile brigades and commando regiments; creating a smaller, better trained army composed solely of volunteers (despite the widespread French fear that a professional army might interfere in politics); establishing closer relations with NATO in order to benefit from joint technical planning. No one doubts that additional reforms are needed quickly. As General Bigeard candidly noted last week. "These new measures are not sufficient; there will still be disturbances."

NEW DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER MARCEL BIGEARD





W

It just may have been an ordinary week for a comic who has built his career around the plaint, "I don't get no respect." Shortly after Rodney Dangerfield taped 31 days of material for New York Telephone's Dial-A-Joke, 170,000 Manhattan phones went dead because of a fire in the company switching station. No matter, really, because the New York Daily News, which was to run advertisements and a phone number for the feature, was shut down by a strike. Dangerfield remained calmly pessimistic through it all. Said the cut-off comic to his nightclub audience in Manhattan at week's end: "Today was a good day. I got a dial tone.

Actor Ernest Borgnine has never leads, but under been in demand for romantic leads, but under leads the leads to this get-up for The Devil's Rain, an occult thriller just filmed in Durango, Mexico, gives eyesore new meaning. In the movie, which co-stars led Lupino and William Shafner, Borgnine returns from the dead as a disciple of Satam—with help from a three-hour facial by the makeup experts for Plante of the Appex.

Kennedy Center Concert Hall in Washington. Rostropovich, who had encountered growing repression in his homeland because of his loyalty to Writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn and other dissident artists, left the Soviet Union in May with his wife Soprano Galina Vishnevskaya. The maestro's troubles seemed almost distant, however, as he guided an exuberant National Symphony Orchestra through an evening of Tchaikovsky for an audience that included another recent arrival from the U.S.S.R., Dancer Mikhail Baryshnikov. It was a rare evening. Said Washington Star-News Critic Irving Lowens: "In terms of enthusiasm and adulation aroused, about the only thing the concert can be compared to is the Second Coming '

Ben Cartwright, move over NBC's Columbo, the disheveled shamus portrayed by Peter Falk, has joined ranks with Bonanza and I Love Lucy reruns as one of America's top TV exports. Now shown in 75 countries, the series has just been voted Japan's most pop-



ROSTROPOVICH SCORES A TRIUMPH







ERNEST BORGNINE BECOMES A FIEND AS HE MELTS INTO HIS ROLE AS SATAN'S DISCIPLE IN THE DEVIL'S RAIN

The citizens of Durange have seen 65 movies shot in their town, but this one has managed to unnerve them. Because of the film's supernatural goings on, people working near the sets have blamed the devil's rainmakers for everything from bad weather to leaky canoes. They left the 6-ft. Borgnine pretty much alone. Says the grinning actor: "Guess I'm lucky as the devil."

"How much I could have done for my country had I been given just 'musical freedom,' "lamented Soviet Cellist Mstislav Rostropovich, 47, in a letter written recently to Le Monde. His claim was vindicated by his U.S. conducting debut before an audience of 2,700 at the

ular television show in a poll conducted by the Japanese TV Guide. Falk's international success has not come smoothly, however. When Rumania's state TV network ran out of shows, fans of the raincoated detective began to protest, and the beleaguered network cabled Universal Studios for temporary re-

lief. Said Falk in Hollywood last week: "The Rumanian government got me to tape an announcement in Rumanian saying," Just be patient; there!l be more Columbos. Hold tight." They flew here with a camera crew and gave me a piece of paper with what to say, and I did it." When Falk's pidgin Rumanian is heard back home, the crisis may be quickly

"I would like to be known as Sir Charles, not Sir Charlie," announced Charlie Chaplin, 85, shortly after receiving his long-overdue knighthood from Britain's Queen Elizabeth II. Chaplin. who arrived for his investiture at Buckingham Palace clad in morning clothes and blue suede shoes, accepted his dubbing from a wheelchair, then retired to the Savoy Hotel to accept congratulations from Prime Minister Harold Wilson and other fans. "I was too dumbfounded to talk to the Queen," confessed Sir Charles later. Less awed was his daughter, Actress Geraldine Chaplin, 30. who came to London for the ceremonies with her son Shane. Since Shane was born out of wedlock two months

PEOPLE



SIR CHARLES TAKES A BOW

ago, his citizenship is in question. Mother Geraldine is of mixed American and British parentage, and his father, Film Director Corlos Soura, is Spanish. "If they can make my father a knight," protested Geraldine shortly before her arrival, "they can damn well make his grandson British."

Once again San Francisco Examinee Editor Rondolph Heerst found himself printing news about one of his own daughters. And again the news was bad. While entering the U.S. from Canada, Anne Hearst, 19, younger sister of Fugitive Fatty Heerst, was stopped by customs officials in Niagara Falls, N.Y., and her car and its occupants searched doesn amphetamine tablets stuffed in the sack of Anne's driving companion.

in Manhattan for the past month. "Our separation was a failure," said John. "We knew we would get back together; it was just a matter of time. Thank God it happened."



ANNE HEARST ON HER WAY TO COURT



ed the pair for possession of dangerous drugs. U.S. federal agents rashed to the scene, hoping Anne could provide in-formation about her sister, who police suspect may now be hiding in Canada with the remnants of the Symbionese Liberation Army. The agents apparentiated the control of the co

"I had an extra ticket for the Grammys," quipped Singer-Composer John Lennon after showing up for the annual record-awards show with his estranged wife, Artist Yoko One. Lennon revealed that he and Yoko put their marital act back together after an 18-month breakup and have been "happily ensconced" herd, perhaps sensing the dour mood of the crowd, made good her getaway. "Tve got another party to go to," she announced as the first dinner guests arrived, then vanished, leaving Boy Friend Bogdanovich to play host alone.

"I haven't made a dent in any of my debts yet," protested Watergate Witness John Dean last week. "I don't even know when one receives money after a lecture. I imagine it will be months before it comes in." Though he is pleading poverty. Dean has announced that he will end his five-week lecture tour on March 15. Not even offers of \$6,000 per speech. which he claims to have received, will keep Richard Nixon's old nemesis from abandoning the college circuit. Instead. Dean plans to begin work on a book about Watergate and a novel "about the first black woman named to the Supreme Court"-a story, he promises, that will have some laughs.



War? It's Just Good Economics

To the Editors:

How reassuring that we all "profit" from the arms trade [March 3]; "A jet fighter can earn as much foreign currency as the sale of 1,000 autos." War? It's just good economics.

Joan Dargan Princeton, N.J.

Here we are spending billions on ways to kill one another with sophisticated weapons and getting upset about a doctor's allowing a fetus to die in Boston. We have no consistency.

Bill Gordon San Diego

Since the "merchants of death" are constantly spewing forth their lethal products in unchecked and unbridled ground in the products of the products of the product of the p

ed chicken?

Saul Bloch New York City

I gather from your article that Brazil, Chile and other Latin American countries are target customers of the gun merchants.

Considering that the worst problems challenging these countries are their underfed, underemployed and uned-

ucated lower classes, and that the prodigal expenditures on weapons exhaust the already scarce means to buy agricultural machines, create new job opportunities and build schools, it is quite reasonable to anticipate situations in which the gun will be the only tool available to work on the problems.

São Paulo

Will everyone like so many gingham dogs and calico cats eventually eat each other up? Virginia Oates Cates

Paducah, Ky.

Martha Mitchell, Heroine John Mitchell [March 3] says he

could have been sentenced "to spend the rest of my life with Martha Mitchell." Methinks it's the other way round.

I believe that Martha is being spared from living with a bitter, vindictive person whose greatest mistake was that he forgot that he wasn't a notch up from his wife and the rest of us. Martha is a 20th century heroine.

Here is one sister who will not forget her honesty and integrity. I say, bravo, Martha.

Helen McCormick Jacksonville

Henry's Girl

I was just tickled pink to read that Henry Kissinger has pronounced Margaret Thatcher 'quite a girl' [March 3]. Does a woman have to be elected Prime Minister or President (and have one foot in the grave) to be referred to as a woman'.

S.D. Matheson Bedford Hills, N.Y.

Adlai, Scoop and Oil

Hooray for Adlai Stevenson III and Scoop Jackson [Feb. 24]! By proposing a federal oil firm, they've

a federal oil firm, they've found a way to give the U.S. Post Office some competition in the matter of how to really raise prices.

H.T. Schassberger Evergreen, Colo.

Many people believe that the outer continental shelf, particularly offshore New Jersey, contains recoverable quantities of oil and gas. I am not unmindful of the need to develop new do-

mestic sources of energy, because New Jersey is heavily dependent on import-ed oil and has suffered severe consequences as a result. But New Jersey will not sit by silently as the federal bureau-cracy rushes headlong into a program that will benefit the oil companies at the expense of a state's priceless Atlantic coastal beaches and tourist industry.

New Jersey, in conjunction with several other coastal states, has submitted to the Federal Government a positive program calling for prompt exploration to determine the extent of recoverable oil and gas. To protect the public interest the exploration should be subject to thorough controls and be separated from the decision to extract the resources. Any development should be part of a national energy policy created in cooperation with the states and the people and should use methods least damaging to the environment. If the Supreme Court decides that the Federal Government is the proprietor of the offshore areas, then revenues derived from them should be shared with the coastal states to compensate them for unavoided adverse effects. This program, if accepted, would facilitate rather than delay the nation's quest for oil and gas.

Brendan Byrne, Governor State of New Jersey Trenton

The Victim Revictimized

The California schooleacher who lost her class action against Standard Oil's clean air claims for F-19 gasoline March 10 because she could not pay \$42,000 to send notices of the lawsuit to 700,000 other Standard credit-card holders is not alone. Corporations are now consistently challenging consumer class actions to recover millions of dictard overcharges on the basis of litegal overcharges on the basis and the control of the control of the metric of the controversies.

The U.S. Supreme Court's decision that every identifiable member of the class must be personally notified has created an impossible burden for injured plaintiffs attempting to assert their rights by means of class action.

But this ruling applies only to class actions in federal courts, while the F-310 case was brought in state court. If the federal notice requirement is not followed by the California appellate courts. the F-310 case may proceed through notices published in newspapers at a cost of only \$1,500 to force Standard Oil to credit its customers' charge accounts with refunds. However, this class is limited to eight California counties. Hundreds of thousands of F-310 consumers residing elsewhere will remain deprived of their rights. Moreover, in most large but legitimate consumer class actions. courts eagerly manufacture other grounds to deny justice even if the plaintiffs come up with the cash to notify all class members. Until Congress passes new legislation, corporations will continue to exploit their judicially granted advantages.

Ralph Nader Washington, D.C.

Kennerly's Culpa

Your paean to the White House photographer [March 3] overlooks an insidious aspect of the operation Mr. Kennerly runs: news management.

A vast flow of "White House photographs," selected to show a thoughtful and very human President in firm command of the nation's problems, floods the media. At the same time, access to the man is blocked by the White House Press Office.

Of course the lure of an exclusive, intimate photograph is one few editors can resist. But its use is as irresponsible jour-

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The Trans-Alaska

A report on the most remarkable private construction project in American history.

Oil was discovered under Alaska's North Slope more than 100 years ago—not by oilmen, but by Eskimos. They noticed a black liquid substance underneath the tundra.

What wasn't known until many years later was approximately how much oil there was.

In 1967, as our country faced declining oil reserves at home, extensive exploratory drilling began at



The highest hurdle for the Pipeline will be the 4,500-loot-high Dietrich Pass in the Brooks Mountain Range.

Prudhoe Bay. Several oil companies hit oil and gas. And hit it big. It is estimated that there is about 10 billion barrels (one barrel equals 42 gallons) of crude oil under the tundra—more oil than exists in Louisiana, Oklahoma, Kansas and half of Texas combined.

The most practical answer

After considering many forms of transportation, engineers agreed that a pipeline would be the most economical way to get the oil out of the Arctic wilderness.

While several pipeline routes were studied, a 798-mile route across Alaska was ultimately selected. It is shorter, less expensive, and could be completed in less time.

The oil will enter the pipe at Prudhoe Bay, then move south to Valdez, an ice-free harbor on the Pacific. From Valdez, U.S.-flag tankers will carry the oil to West Coast ports.

27 Empire State Buildings

It will take over three years and nearly \$6 billion to build the Pipeline. This is the equivalent of what it would cost today to build 27 Empire State Buildings, or 3 Panama Canals.

Ownership of the Pipeline is held by eight companies, with Exxon Pipeline Co. having a 20 percent interest. These companies formed Alyeska Pipeline Service Co.

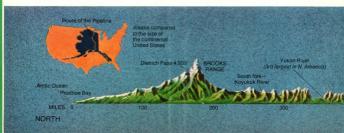
Alyeska is responsible for research, construction, maintenance and environmental work.



flierce Arctic winds can cripple machinery and reduce human work efficiency by 90 percent.

What's happening today

Right now, thousands of men and women are working on the Pipeline at many different camps spaced along the route. Employment will reach a peak of 15,000 workers at 29 camps.



Pipeline.

Last October, the first all-weather road was opened between the Yukon River and Prudhoe Bay.

This spring, the first pipelaying will begin.

Soon, a \$24 million bridge will be completed across the Yukon, third largest river in North America. And the first of 12 powerful pumping stations will be constructed.

The remaining miles of pipelaying and the deep-water port facilities at Valdez will be completed in

The present schedule calls for Pipeline operation to begin in the summer of 1977 at 600,000 barrels a day, with capacity of 1.2 million barrels a day shortly thereafter. Ultimately, the pipe may carry 2 million barrels a day.

Midnight sun or eternal midnight Working conditions along the route are almost without parallel in the

are almost without parallel in the history of the industry. For two months of the year the

sun never rises. For two months, it neversets. Wintertemperatures can plunge to 80° below zero. Bitter 40-mile-an-hour winds off the Arctic ice cap can reduce normal working efficiency by 90 percent.

The summer brings warmth, but also clouds of mosquitos that descend on the workers.

On the other hand, indoor living in this wilderness is surprisingly comfortable—thanks to modern prefab housing, the latest movies and some of America's best cooks.

A commitment to the fragile

When the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System was proposed, there was a great deal of concern over its impact on the environment.

Since 1969 more than \$12 million has been spent studying the total Alaskan environment. This work has helped shape the Pipeline's design, construction and route.

About 50 percent of the pipe will be elevated in order not to thaw and erode the vulnerable tundra and permafrost. An extensive revegetation



It took over one-half million tons of steel to make the 798 miles of pipe for the project. The sections are 40' and 60' long, 48" in diameter.



This is the entrance to Valdez harbor. From this ice-free port U.S.-flag tankers will carry the oil to the West Coast.

program is under way to reseed those areas which must be disturbed.

Northern Alaska's 500,000 caribou will be accommodated by burying refrigerated sections of pipe at intervals along migratory routes.

The Pipeline, as it is now being built, promises a high degree of environmental protection.

In conclusion

The Trans-Alaska Pipeline System will help America become more self-sufficient and less dependent on foreign oil.

For additional information on the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System, write: Exxon Corp., Dept. B, Box 1147, Ansonia Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10023.



Profile of the 798-Mile Pipeline Route

Sabel Pass 3.500 Port Valdez Terminal 18 ft. Tidal Range Chugeb Mountains 5.000 A.000 Port Valdez Terminal 18 ft. Tidal Range Chugeb Mountains 5.000 Thompson Pass 2.800 A.000 Port Valdez Terminal 18 ft. Tidal Range 5.000 A.000 Port Valdez Terminal 18 ft. Tidal Range 5.000 A.000 Port Valdez Terminal 18 ft. Tidal Range 5.000 A.000 Port Valdez Terminal 18 ft. Tidal Range 5.000 A.000 Port Valdez Terminal 18 ft. Tidal Range 5.000 A.000 Port Valdez Terminal 18 ft. Tidal Range 5.000 A.000 Port Valdez Terminal 18 ft. Tidal Range 5.000 A.000 Port Valdez Terminal 18 ft. Tidal Range 5.000 A.000 Port Valdez Terminal 18 ft. Tidal Range 5.000 A.000 Port Valdez Terminal 18 ft. Tidal Range 5.000 Port Valdez Terminal 18

A VOLVO DISCOVERY: RAIN FALLS ON **REAR WINDOWS.TOO.**

Volvo was the first wagon maker with the foresight to provide its rear window with a wiper and washer as standard equipment.

Volvo has also discovered that everyone doesn't buy a wagon to be fashionable.

Many people buy wagons to carry things.

So we didn't design Volvo's cargo area low and sleek to accommodate a styling trend. We designed it high and practical, to accommodate things like a six-foot sofa and two chairs (with the rear seat down). Or three six-foot people and 12 two-suiters (with the rear seat up).

Volvo's rear area not only holds a lot, it comes with a lot. It has its own heating and ventilation vents, its own three-point seat belts, electric rear window defogger, carpeting, tinted glass and childproof door locks.

And Volvo's back door swings up out of your way, instead of out into your stomach. Or down into your knee caps.

It doesn't take a college degree to appreciate the thinking behind our wagon. So we leave you to consider this. If the rear end of your car isn't as well VOLVO thought-out as Volvo's, what other part might not be?

The wagon for people who think.



nalistically as running handouts from show-business promoters without further investigation.

Burton Berinsky New York City

Amitay's Physiognomy TIME's picture of I.L. Kenen, chair-

man of AIPAC [March 10], was incorrectly captioned as that of Morris J. Am-

itay. While Amitay has succeeded Kenen as the executive director of AIPAC, it will nevertheless be many years before he will also acquire Kenen's physiognomy. Leonard J. Davis

Director of Information American Israel Public Affairs Committee Washington, D.C.



Rail Revival Recommendations in MORRIS I AMITAY

the report of the U.S. Railway Association [March 10] will produce more jobs for Pennsylvania because they call for widespread track upgrading for which Pennsylvania will be the major steel supplier-and this is indeed good news. However, I regret that U.S.R.A. calls also for an inordinately large abandonment of trackage that should and must be preserved

It is essential that our railroads be revitalized, and I recognize this important first step by U.S.R.A. in identifying some of the problems. But I believe additional consideration must be given to new ways for bringing our railroads back to life. Perhaps we could enlist the U.S. Travel Service to encourage rail use by foreign travelers during the Bicentennial period. This, of course, would mean that rail improvement must involve local planning, rather than leave the burden solely to federal and state assistance

would not contemplate nationalization of our rail system, because throughout the world where this has been done the result has been a reduction from a premier and highly regarded effort to second-class service. Nationalization is also too expensive

We have a long way to go before we have truly quality rail service. I especially hope that some of the assumptions which have led to mass-abandonment proposals will be questioned in upcoming regional hearings, six of which will be in Pennsylvania

Hugh Scott Minority Leader, U.S. Senate Washington, D.C.

No Good Death

We did not, as you reported [Feb. 241 call the Army's blackbird-killing campaign "a form of mass euthanasia which would imply a good death in the victims' interest

The killing is as senseless as the method is cruel. If the birds had been permitted to migrate as they soon would have, a serious study could have been made of the humane and effective means of preventing their regrouping. The Army's impact statement reflected a greater interest in killing them than in

problem solving Helen E. Jones, President Society for Animal Rights, Inc. New York City

Casseroles and **Hair Shirts**

Hugh Sidey's comments concerning the week's activities at the White House [March 3] sickened me. Does Mr. Sidey suggest that the President, Senators. Congressmen, economists, et al., subsist on tuna casserole until solutions to the nation's eco-

nomic ills are found? Does he also believe that wearing hair shirts by these men would expedite

> Edward R. Parran Hamilton, N.Y.

What Wayne Hays Did

matters?

In your article "Dissension Among the Democrats" [Feb. 3] you said that Congressman Wayne L. Hays "used his chairmanship of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ... to reward friends and browbeat enemies" and that "he misled the 75 incoming freshmen by implying that he alone had been the source of the funds that helped elect them, even removing names of other party leaders from the letterhead of the campaign committee's stationery.'

As one of the newly elected Democratic members of the 94th Congress, I was the recipient of aid from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. My financial assistance was accompanied by a letter on committee stationery stating that it was being given through the efforts of the "Democratic leadership and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee." I was in no way coerced by anyone for my votes during the Democratic caucus, and I was one of the freshmen voting for some needed changes in Congress.

As chairman of the 75 Democratic Party new members, and yet commenting individually, I can assure you that Hays did not mislead the 75 incoming freshmen in any manner. Carroll Hubbard, U.S. Representative

First District, Kentucky Washington, D.C.

Address Letters to TIME. Time & Life Building. Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

MILESTONES

Died. Otto Winzer, 72, former East German Foreign Minister: of heart disease; in East Berlin. A Communist from his youth. Winzer was a close aide of the late East German leader Walter Ulbricht. When Winzer took command of the foreign ministry in 1965, only the Communist bloc and a few Third World countries recognized East Germany as a sovereign state. Winzer shepherded his country into the international arena, and in 1973 East Germany (along with her neighbor to the west) was admitted to the United Nations. Poor health forced Winzer's resignation in January.

Died, Laurence L. Winship, 85, who joined the Boston Globe in 1912, later served as Sunday editor, managing editor (1937-55) and editor before retiring in 1965 (he was succeeded by his son Thomas): after a long illness; in Marlborough, Mass. A tough-minded but easygoing newsman with a keen sense for big political stories, Winship put his old reporter's hat back on after retirement to cover the 1968 national party conventions for the Globe.

Died. Taizo Ishizaka, 88, elder statesman of Japanese industry; of a stroke; in Tokyo. A successful insurance executive before World War II, Ishizaka was called from retirement in 1948 to rescue the Toshiba company from bankruptcy, went on to head the electronics giant for 17 years. An affable, scholarly man who made pottery and wrote poetry, he held hundreds of management, advisory and honorary posts in business and public affairs. In the mid-1960s, as chairman of Osaka's Expo '70, the redoubtable Ishizaka pressured a reluctant Premier Eisaku Sato into furnishing ample funds. After twelve years as president of the powerful Federation of Economic Organizations, which is semiofficial overseer of the country's industrial machine. Ishizaka resigned at 81. then took on the presidency of Japan's Arabian Oil Co. Said he: "I am not allowed to grow old."

Died. Madeleine Vionnet, 98, grande dame of French couture; in Paris. Vionnet, as she was simply known, began her trade as an apprentice seamstress at the age of eleven in 1887, opened her own fashion house in 1912, and flourished till her retirement in 1940. She preferred to drape fabric on a wooden mannequin rather than sketch her designs. Her main innovation was the bias cut, in which cloth is scissored at an angle to the weave, rendering it more elastic and clingy. Her soft, often lavered dresses moved with the wearer's body and helped to usher in the modern age of sensuous, nonconfining women's clothing.

CHER

The show runs against The Wonderful World of Disney in the 7:30 slot on Sunday night, and there is something wackily inspired about this amusing little coincidence that the CBS programmers have arranged. Just standing there on her runway, half-clad in one of the twelve to 15 costumes Cher Sarkesian Bono wears out every broadcast hour, she inspires more and infinitely richer-fantasies than all the plastics of Disneyland. Indeed, it is barely possible that Cher in Cher may with a little help from the many shrewd friends who so elaborately package her each week-redefine that grand old American cant phrase, "family entertainment." For if her style is at odds with that of the competition, the fact remains that like everyone who aspires to success when all of America is still awake, she must offer a little something for every member of the family. What is different about Cher is that every member of the family may not feel like discussing the message he or she is getting from her with the rest of the household

For Dad (and the older boys) she appears to be a sex symbol, impure and simple as her long, simous body—high fashion, but with some meat on her smoothly articulated bones —slithers into closeup, her navel trunkling as invistingly as —slithers into closeup, her have the winkling as invistingly as As she speaks a few words a shy smile spitis her deadpan. As she speaks a few words as the speaks a few words where the same than the speaks as the speaks

A sfor Mrs. America, the has a choice. If she is into liberation, she can see Cher Davely solonia as a variety-show star after the breakup of the Sorny and Cher partnership and marriagel as a blow for enancipation. It may even be a vindication of sorts. Sonny, who had the reputation of being Cher's Svengali, suffered the ignominy of having his solo show canceled in mid-season, not long before Cher rose into Nieben's obe mid-season, not long before the rose into Nieben's other liberaul politics is not Mom's bag, then she can sit back and relax while enjoying the fashion show and some mildly envisor slantasies about the corps of hairdressers and beauticians required to construct such a perfect example of feminine artiful.

Mother is joined by the group that forms the heart of Cher's fan club—girts who are sub-teen and even younger. For them she is, in the current phrase, "jive." Cher proves that at least one American dream lives: the gives evidence that show biz can still reach out among the adolescent milling that the control of the cont

There is something appropriate about this pubescent aroff or Cher. At 128 she is herself nof at removed from the rusbeliever status of her fans. Indeed, her saving, authentie gracmay lie in her ability to admit that the only definition of success she has ever held is stardom. She is a creature totally formed by show business—first by her fantasies about it, then by her precoclous immersion in it. She married Sonny, then a record promoter, when she was I yet.

Her liberation from Sonny is a personal triumph, but it carries no ideological example for the rest of womankind, so far



CHER MODELS HER MOST MEMORABLE COSTUME
Is she redefining "family entertainment"?

as Cher can see. As for being a sex symbol for males, that too is mostly in the eye of the beholder. It is true that after leaving Sonny she inwolved herself for more than 15 months in a much-publicized romance with David Geffen, 31, innovative president of Elektra/Asylum/Nonseuch Records. Took, I've president of Elektra/Asylum/Nonseuch Records. Took, I've Lower and the state of the state of

early everyone who has been part of her life agrees with that self-assessment. "Conservative, even prud-other in the mother's phrase for her. An uncle has another early in the mother's phrase for her. An uncle has another early in the second of the secon

And, he might have added, the childhood as well. "If was a by, ugly kid whole da big finats life," Cher, who was christened Cherlin, recalls. "It thought I was an angel from heaven sent to cure polio. When Dr. Salk did it, I was really pissed off." Even before that she was trying to woo the world to sing. Singing just came from the interest of the sing. Singing just came from the control to sing. Singing just came from the property of the pro

There were plenty of those. Cher's mother, Georgia Holt,

SHOW BUSINESS & TV

was a show-business small-timer in Los Angeles, a sometime model and actress in commercials. Her biggest chance was being cast for a part in The Asphalt Jungle for a couple of weeks before another fringe performer named Marilyn Monroe took it away from her. Three times Holt married and divorced John Sarkesian. Cher's father, a compulsive gambler and later a heroin addict, although Cher did not meet him until she was eleven ("I hated him"). Between and after these marriages there were five others. Poverty, constant changes of address, a short stay in a Catholic nursing home for the needy were all part of Cher's childhood. Even a three-year burst of prosperity, when her mother wed a banking executive, seemed like just another form of instability.

By adolescence, Cher had started perfecting a signature she regarded as suitable for a star to sign in autograph books, and after the tenth grade she quit school forever. Around this time she had a first-and last-experience with a drug, Benzedrine. It left her "deadly opposed to drugs in every form, in every way." At 16 she left home rather than go on quarreling

with her mother about "life-styles.

She moved in with a girl friend and supported herself with menial jobs. She remembers her social life at the time as an all-singing, all-dancing marathon on the Sunset Strip ("I'd go up there and dance till dawn"). When she was 16, she went out on a double date with her friend Melissa Melcher and met Melissa's boy next door-27-year-old, newly separated Sonny Bono. Not long after, he made her an offer she could not refuse: "Look, I don't find you particularly attractive and I have no designs on you. I'd like you to move in with me and keep the house clean and cook. I'll pay the rent." Cher said she could not cook, but Sonny took her in anyway. Cher recalls: "We lived together for two months, slept in the same bedroom and he never laid a hand on me.'

She did not tell her mother about her new domestic arrangement. When Georgia was expected, Cher says, "I'd rush around, collect all of Sonny's clothes and dump them through the window into Melissa's place right across the way. One day Melissa was sitting at the table with some guests when a shower of Sonny's belongings descended on everyone. She just said, 'Oh, Cher's mother must be on the way.'

hen Mom found out about Sonny, she made Cher move into a Hollywood girls' residence, but absence finally made his heart grow fonder. They took up housekeeping again-nonplatonically. "When I met her she was 16 and a waif," says Sonny. "On the one hand, she was a very mature kid. She had dealt with life and men on an adult level-she skipped the teen-age stage. But on the other, she was also a very naive little girl.

He also claims he always knew she would be a star some day: "She would walk around our house and sing her ass off. It drove me crazy. But in the first two weeks I knew her, I told her I felt that she would be a great star. That's what she wanted." In this period she and Sonny once briefly split because, he claims, he was afraid he might stand in the way of

the great career he was still predicting.

But they both must have known that she needed him. Her ambition may have been fierce, but like her talent it was vague and undefined. She was also-and ironically-a shy, stage-frightened girl. She needed, as Sonny puts it, "a husband, a father, a brother, a lover, everything. I loved giving it. It was a resurgence for me at 27. It made me a leader, something I never was before." If, sometimes, he had literally to push his wife onstage, that was all right too.

marriage in 1964. Working for famed Record Producer Phil

at recording sessions, and they got a job together at a spot on the Strip called The Purple Onion. After work, she would often ask Sonny to drive her up to Tony Curtis' 31-room Tudor-style mansion in the Holmby Hills and park outside its great cast-iron gates. Says Sonny: "Cher would pine for that house. She'd say, 'God, Son, I want to live there.' " For the past three years-with Sonny and without him-she has.

he road to it was not easy. Sonny wrote the song that became their first record-Baby Don't Go-for her alone. "But she was too frightened to perform by herself, so I did the harmony just to be with her." Baby was a modest hit. In 1965 he wrote the softly rocking I Got You Babe, which turned out to be an immodest hit-some 4 million copies sold-and Sonny and Cher found themselves playing the big rock concerts. It looked as if the mansion was within reach.

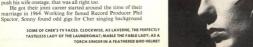
But fashion changed. Hard rock, acid rock, were suddenly in, and Sonny and Cher were out. "The whole sound and style of music began to come out of the drug culture,' says Sonny, "We didn't want to get into that, so it left us." In fact, the couple came out boldly against drugs, and that was didn't go to concerts-applauded us," says Cher. "The kids -who did go to concerts-thought we were stupid."

Sonny sank all their savings into a movie vehicle for his

wife called, like the child they discovered was on the way in the midst of shooting, Chastity. In it, she solemnly searched the Southwest for life's meaning, and it bombed. They found themselves









SHOW BUSINESS & TV



AN EARLY FASHION POSE (LEFT) AT AGE 9; WITH MOTHER GEORGIA AND DAUGHTER CHASTITY AT HOLMBY HILLS HOME "A very mature kid . . . a very naive little girl living now the adolescence she never had."

flat broke and owing \$180,000 in back taxes. Accompanied by baby and a nanny, they hit the road again, sometimes playing to audiences of 45 in small clubs, developing along the way the kidding-on-the-square comedy style that later became the staple of their TV show. They fought their way back to the big Lax Vegas clubs as well as a shot as guest hosts on the Mero Griffin Xhow, where CES Programming Chief Fed Silverman saw them. He invited them to do a plit for a summer replacement show. It led to their booking in 1971 as summer replacement show. It led to their booking in 1971 as summer replacement show. It led to their booking in 1971 as what appeared to be a permanently successful fauture on the CBS schedule. Within a year they bought the Tony Curtis house for something like a million dollars.

omewhere in the next couple of years their stories begin to diverge. As Cher tells it, she began to feel "I was going nowhere as a person. I wanted to grow, expand my horizons. I was bogged down." She is vague about just how her husband was holding her back. She mentions he forbidding her for Jay tennis because he din on feel like house or socialize with band musicians—that is all. She is also dim about what his methods of restraint were. "It's impossible to explain Sonny's hold on me," says Cher. "I was arriad of him, yet he never laid a hand on me. His powers of persuasion were enormous—as deep as the ocean. You just but ower. It was a very stulliffine existence."

For his part, Sonny bridles at the notion that he was the holy ambitious member of the marriage. Early on, he recalls, they bought a house in Encino to which they both took an instant loathing. A little later, when they were down and out, he told her that if things did not start looking up they might be told her that if things did not start looking up they might be told the property of the the property

According to Sonny, "She expected me to lead the way to success—and I did." Now, perhaps with some justification, he feels "really down," as one friend put it. He has just turned (0, discovered that "I can't do it as a solo," and that a great fall's pain is intense. "I lost it all," he says. "The way the act says constructed—not just the way it came about—Cher was the focal point. I never considered it a disadvantage because the act was a smash. But a straight man is a straight man is a straight man is

straight man ..." A current girl friend, a 19-year-old Cal State psychology student named Ora Renet, adds: "Of course he's bewildered; someone has stepped on his sand castle."

His consolation, as he sees it, is that Cher is applying everything he taught her. He insists that her public persona and her sense of how to use it are largely his creations. But Cher takes justifiable pride in the fact that she has so quickly picked up the pieces of a career that many show-business insiders last summer considered hopeless. To be sure, she had plently of morey—a \$25,000-per-week allowance from Son-







CHER RUNNING THE GAMUT OF HER COSTUMES' EMOTIONS; INDIAN PLUMAGE WAS FOR A RECORD-ALBUM COVER

Is New True 100 lower in tar than your 100?

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Menthol: 12 mg. "tar", 0.7 mg. nicotine

Tests for tar and nicotine by U.S. Gov't. Method prove it. New True 100mm is lowest in both tar and nicotine of all these leading 100mm cigarettes.

RUE INDICATE OF THE PARTY OF TH

*SOURCE: FTC Report October '74.

Of all domestic brands, lowest yield... 2 mg. "tar", 0.2 mg. nicotine, TRUE 100's Regular and 100's Menthol: 12 mg. "tar", 0.7 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette, by FTC method.

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Regular: 19 mg. "tar", 1.3 mg. nicotine

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Menthol: 19 mg "tar" 1.3 mg picotine

RENSON 6 REDGES

Regular: 17 mg. "tar", 1.1 mg. nicotine

Regular: 17 mg, "tar", 1.1 mg, nicotine

Menthol: 19 mg, "tar", 1.3 mg, nicotine

Menthol: 19 mg. "tar", 1.3 mg. nicotine

Regular: 17 mg. "tar", 1.1 mg. nicotine

8

Withfull: 17 mg. (at , 1.5 mg. mconne

Regular: 19 mg. "tar", 1.4 mg. nicotine

BENEON & HEDGES

Menthol: 17 mg. "tar", 1.1 mg. nicotine

Regular: 16 mg. "tar", 1.0 mg. nicotine

Regular: 16 mg. "tar", 1.2 mg. nicotine

Regular: 19 mg. "tar", 1,4 mg. nicotine

DEC.

TEIG

Hegular: 17 mg. "tar", 1.1 mg. nicotine

Regular: 18 mg. "tar", 1.3 mg. nicotine

Menthol: 17 mg. "tar", 1.3 mg. nicotine

Regular: 20 mg. "tar", 1.4 mg. nicotine

Regular: 19 mg, "tar", 1.3 mg, nicotine

Menthol: 16 mg, "tar", 1.1 mg, nicotine

Coming your way... TIME's issue of July 4,1776

THE ENEMY is off Manhattan. The British seize Staten Island and prepare to invade the mainland. Near Wall Street, frenzied New Yorkers tear down George III's statue. And a delegate from Delaware gallops 80 miles through thunderstorms to Philadelphia to help make the Declaration of Independence unanimous.

These were some of the top stories in the first week of July 1776. They will also be among the top stories in a very unusual issue of TIME. In a special issue this spring to commemorate the Bicentennial, TIME will cover the events of that week, department by department, as if today's TIME had existed then.

Nation will report on Thomas Jefferson and the events leading to the Declaration of Independence, as World examines European reaction to the Revolution.

B USINESS is scheduled to report on colonial inflation, and The Sexes on whether women should vote. Books will review Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, while Music looks at the maturing Mozart. And there will be much, much more.

CERTAINLY this issue will become a collectors' item and a sell-out at newstands. It will be sent to each active TIME subscriber at the time of publication. So if your subscription is about to run out, and you want to receive this special issue, make sure your renewal reaches us before April 25, 1975. If you're not already a TIME subscriber, call before April 25 to enter your subscription.

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PARTIAL LIST OF PROPOSED CONTENTS.

Nation: Chronology of Independence, The Man from Monticello, What Kind of Constitution?, The Plot to Kill Washington

World: Welcome Revolution, Where now, King George?

Business & Economy: Can We Afford Independence?, Adam Smith on Wealth

The Press: Pamphleteer Tom Paine

Religion: Freedom in the Pulpit, How the Denominations Line Up on Independence

Medicine: Who's Afraid of Inoculation?

Come to South Africa and...

look at our art,

or look at our art.





The women artists of the N'debele village have created abstract, geometric murals on the walls of their houses with masterly precision. There's something about the broad, bold strokes and bright, rich colors that has been an inspiration to artists like Picasso, Leger and Modigliani.

And the beadwork and blankets these women weave capture the same primitive spirit found in their paintings.

This fascinating village is just a short ride from Pretoria. And, as is the case with most South African art, you won't have to look for it to

look at it. It's part of the scenery. The work of great sculptors can be seen in public squares throughout South Africa. Ernest Ullmann's "The Playmakers" (illustrated above) stands in front of Johannesburg's Civic Theatre.

SAA 707's fly the fastest, most direct routes to this land of wonderful contrasts...via the Cape Verde Islands or Rio de Janeiro. And our

747's serve 13 major European gateways. And South African's Blue Diamond first class or Gold Medallion economy service lets your African adventure begin the moment you step

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INGREDIENTS: 1 oz. EARLY TIMES, 1 oz. treme de Banana, K. Z. Triple Sec. ½ oz. Lemon Juice, 2 oz. Pineappie Juice R. E. L. Poz. Triple Sec. ½ oz. Lemon Juice, 2 oz. Pineappie Juice, with ice; pour in highball glass half filled with cracked ice. Garnish/pineapple slice, straw.

INGREDIENTS: 2 oz. EARLY TIMES, 1 oz. Triple Sec, orange juice.
RECIPE: Fill highball glass with ice. Add 2 oz. EARLY TIMES and
1 oz. Triple Sec. Fill with orange juice, and stir.
Float teaspoon Grenadine.



INGREDIENTS: 1 oz. EARLY TIMES, 1 oz. Triple Sec., 1 oz. Dry Vermouth.
RECIPE: Combine 1 oz. EARLY TIMES, 1 oz. Triple Sec, 1 oz.
Dry Vermouth, with cracked ice; strain into stem glass.



% oz. White Creme de Cacao, 10 oz Coffee Cream.

RECIPE: Shake with cracked ice 1 oz. EARLY TIMES,
oz. Green Creme de Menthe, % oz. White Creme de Cacao,
1 oz. Cream. Strain into whisky sour glass.



INGREDIENTS: 1½ oz. EARLY TIMES, Tomato Juice, Worcestershin Sauce, Tabasco Sauce, Slice of lime (or Favorite Bloody Mary Mix). RECIPE: Combine 1½ oz. EARLY TIMES, Tomato Juice, Worcestershire and Tabasco Sauce to taste (or Bloody Mary Mix, Add ingredients to highball glass filled with ice. Garnish/lime slice.



Wherever you are, and whatever you mix us with, cola ginger ale, The Uncola," cherry soda, lemonade, water or just a clatter of ice cubes, once you know us, you'll love us.

Early Times







THE MEN IN HER LIFE: WITH SONNY IN 1971; ON SUNSET STRIP WITH DAVID GEFFEN; AT HOME WITH GREGG ALLMAN "People ask me if I left Sonny for another man. I tell them no; I left him for a woman—me."

ny, its size based on the fact that most of their \$2 million joint earnings were in his control. But it was he by he firmly refused his persistent and eccentric suggestion that they continue their show even though they were droveing. It took some courage: "I really was beginning to wonder if there would be a future for me at all in this business. Somny had signed with ARC to do a series. I had nothing but a lousy album. There were no offers coming in. Nothing:

onny claims, in a \$25 million suit, that ex-Friend Geffen 'induced' her to break her contracts with Sonny's ironically named Cher Corp. Whatever the truth legally, there is no doubt Geffen was helpful to her in a difperances and signing her—for a very comforting priss—to a contract with Warner Bros. Records. (The first album, Stars, produced by Jimmy Webb, will be released next we

produced by Jimmy Ween, will be released next week.)

The way are given the precision of hat Cher, with high property was the property of the

So is her grace under the pressure of the seven-day-sewed schedule her TV show requires. To a degree, Designer Robert Mackie's clothes still make the star, though Cher says. Twear my clothes, my clothes don't wear me. But a career Twear me the seven seems to the seems of the se

She has some more stretching to do before she and her show can reach its full potential. Her comic range is still nothing for Lily Tomlin to worry about. The monologues are often monosyllabic, the sketches as thin as her own profile. If there is exuberance in her singing-dancing numbers with such potent guest stars as Raquel Welch and Bette Midler; there is exuberance in her singing-dancing numbers with such potent guest stars as Raquel Welch and Bette Midler; there is daree front a show that lacks such heavy supporting artillery. She also seems to need the security of incredibly lavish productions. Each program costs \$225,000 to \$240,000, and the slow was \$580,000 over budget after just four shows were taped.

In her defense it must be said her early time spot unfairly limits her. In the beginning, at least, CBS worried about her naturally hip jargon, and it has forbidden the least hint of sexual innuendo or topicality in the show's humor. As usual, the network is underrating the sophistication of today's kids, if not their parents' capacity for taking moral offense at everything but the worst sin of all—blandness.

Cher also has a way to go before her private life is a model of common sense. She owns over a thousand gowns and 500 pairs of shoes. Over her massive hearth is a big neon CHER. Her social life strikes many as excessive. "Nobody in this town lives like that anymore," sniffs an anonymous critic who was not too proud to accept the invitation. "Four hundred guests assembled, and Cher making a sweeping entrance down a spiral staircase—it's out of the great glamorus '20s." New Friend Allman, a down-home type with fairly primitive views on relations between the sexes, may make a more tell-views or relations between the sexes, may make a more tell-views or relations between the sexes, may make a more tell-views or relations between the sexes, may make a more tell-views or relations between the sexes, may make a more tell-views or relations between the sexes, may make a more tell-views or relations to be the sexes of the control of

It could be that she is looking for a Sonny in sheep's clothing, More likely, Allman is beginning to feel the iron will lurking beneath Cher's inarticulateness. He is said to be breaking up his successful Macon, Ga.—based band in order to stay in Los Angeles with her. Says she: "I laid down the law on drugs, and it's been wonderful to see Gregg's eyes clear. He's really together now."

— o-obviously—is Cher. Or at least she is well on the way. "People ask me if 1 left Sonny for another man," What she means is that underneath the desperate fantasies of a sad childhood and a missed adolescence, an authentic star presence of as yet unpredictable dimensions was actually dormant. Sonny Bono was right when he sensed that quality in the confused little chick he took in a dozen years.

"I'm scared, but by God I'm doing it," says Cher. If her new show really has "legs," as no less an expert than Sonny Bono thinks it has, if she and he do not strangle in a web of suits and countersuits as they attempt to dissolve their business relationship, then we may be witnessing not just a lively challenge to *The Wonderful World of Disney*, but the emersence of A Wonderful World of Cher.

At any rate, the dream house of adolescence, the mansion in the hills, is up for sale. Recently Sonny was visiting her and kidding her about it (their personal relationship is now amazingly warm and relaxed). Cher was having a manicure—a three-hour procedure in which an expert executes intricate tricolor designs on the star's fingernalis. "See, Cher, that's you! You got your dream and now you're done with it." Cher shook her head. "You don't understand. I felt security in this great, strong house. But now, man, I got the house inside here." And with her free hand she pointed to her guts.

The Catalyst Backfires

The Environmental Protection Agency last week granted automakers a year's extension on the federal deadline for the removal of virtually all pollutants from the exhausts of 1977-model cars. The extension itself came as no surprise; meeting the tough federal standards would have added another \$445 to the cost of a new car for antipollution equipment that might have decreased fuel economy to boot. But in making the announcement, EPA Administrator Russell Train did not mention energy or recession. The major reason for the delay, he said, was the EPA's conclusion that the catalytic converter-the device installed on most 1975 cars to reduce noxious emissions-was itself a polluter. The converter, Train explained, produces minute amounts of sulfuric-acid mist that in high enough concentrations would pose a health hazard, especially to people with respiratory problems.

The one-year delay in meeting federal standards is the longest period that the EPA could legally allow the auto industry. So Train plans to turn to Congress "with full awareness that I may be erring on the side of caution" and ask for a five-year moratorium on the enforcement of stricter auto pollution standards His request, which was immediately denounced by environmental groups, would give automakers time to make a virtually pollution-free car that would not require the catalytic converter

Although they were pleased with the delay. Detroit automakers had mixed reactions to Train's indictment of the converter. General Motors, which has spent some \$350 million on the device, assured owners of 1975-model cars that the converter does not "pose any health hazard" for the near future; GM believes that the sulfuric-acid threat can be solved by removing sulfur from gasoline in the refinery or in the car itself. Chrysler, which has consistently opposed the converter, indicated that it would now move at full speed to develop electronic timing and fuel-mixture controls that will reduce emissions to the federal limits without catalysts.

Pollution's High Price

Japan's Chisso Corp. sold \$200 million worth of petrochemicals last year. is effectively managed, and should by any standards be doing well. But Chisso may soon have to shut down. It is one of several major Japanese businesses that have run afoul of a three-year-old government principle: companies that cause individuals any physical harm or financial loss through environmental pollution must compensate them.

Chisso's trouble began in 1950 after it opened in the fishing port of Minamata an acetaldehyde factory that began to discharge effluents into Minamata Bay. One of the waste substances: a highly toxic methyl mercury compound that was passed up the food chain from tiny organisms to small fish to the larger fish that comprise a substantial part of the townspeople's diet. By 1953 the mercury contamination had reached a dangerous level in some people, who began to suffer the crippling symptoms of what is now referred to as Minamata disease. Howling in pain and racked by convulsions, 106 citizens of Minamata died over a period of a decade, and many other victims became deaf, blind or insane. In 1963, after scientists had determined that mercury poisoning was to blame, the government banned fishing in the bay and ordered Chisso to remove the pollutant from the plant's wastes. The company was soon able to stop using mercury in its industrial processes.

An even harder problem was how



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to compensate the victims of Minamata disease. Many sufferers had been given court-ordered awards by Chisso in 1970. But under what has come to be known as the three-P policy (polluters pay for pollution), another group of victims sued for more money, and the courts upheld the suit. As a result. Chisso so far has had to pay the staggering sum of \$67.3 million to 793 victims. As the less serious cases are identified-and there are 2.700 suspected victims still to be given official medical examinations-Chisso will be liable for compensation payments of as much as \$60,000 per person. Says a contrite executive: "We have to do our utmost to pay up, no matter what

Public Outcry. That could break Chisso. Because of the compensation payments, the company lost \$12 million last year. Indeed, it has been able to remain in business only by selling \$40 million worth of its \$250 million total assets and persuading banks to defer for up to three years interest and amortization payments on \$90 million in outstanding loans. To add to Chisso's troubles, another of its plants was partially destroyed by an explosion in 1973. Company officials last year quietly asked the Japanese government's development bank for a low-interest \$13 million loan to repair the factory. But when news of the request became known in January, there was a public outcry.



CONTRITE CHISSO OFFICIALS APOLOGIZING TO MINAMATA DISEASE VICTIMS "An act akin to murder" or a breaking of a useful corporation?

"Pollution is an act akin to murder," charged a government environmental officer, who argued that taxpayers' money should not be used to bail out an industrial polluter, Jun Ui, Japan's leading environmentalist, goes further if dustrial polluter, Jun Ui, Japan's leading environmentalist, goes further if precedent would be set. He fars that the government may be asked for lowinterest loans by other polluters—butter interest loans by other polluters—butter stepsonsible for a serious oil spill at the

Mizushima industrial complex (TIME, Jan. 20).

But Prime Minister Takeo Miki points out that "Chisso wants the loan to pay not for the consequences of pollution but to repair its damaged production system." Then, too, says Labor Leader Kaoru Ohta, if Chisso were to go bankrupt, there would be no compensation for the remaining Minamatta victims—nor would there be jobs for the company's 1,500 workers and those





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ENVIRONMENT

of its subcontractors. "PPP is fine with me," Ohta says, "but the government should grant that loan." Even if it does, however, Chisso for a long time to come will have to contend with a fourth P: profitlessness.

A "Car" for Grenoble

Ever since it acted as host to the 1968 Winter Olympics, the city of Grenoble (pop.: 380,000) has been trying into improve itself even more, becoming for France's laboratory for urban planning, Now, in an ambitious move that is being watched by urban planners everywhere, the city is moving to reduce the number of private automobiles that clog and polluet its streets.

Last fall Grenoble started to extend its bus and trolley systems. Now it is testing a new kind of "people mover" —an aerial tramway akin to a ski lift that may be extended from the city center to the suburbs. The city is also giving downtown shoppers a break; cars have been banned on three streets which have become pedestrian malls. Bx 1980.

ing downtown shoppers a break; cars have been banned on three streets which have become pedestrian malls. By 1980, Mayor Hubert Dubedout predicts, downtown will be served exclusively by public transport—a pedestrian's paradise, with no automobiles to be seen.

Free Choice. When this type of plan has been tried elsewhere, it has usually failed. Transit facilities simply cannot compete with the freedom and privacy of the auto. So Grenoble is promoting a humble alternative. "The bicycle offers door-to-door convenience," says Traffic Engineer Alain Leclerc head of what he calls "the Two Wheels in Grenoble" program. "It also offers free choice of departure time and destination, plus the possibility of moving about without taking a hard-to-park ton of steel along with you." In case of inclement weather or too many parcels or small children, mass transit would always be available. By geological accident, moreover, the Grenoble valley is almost flat, and thus is ideal for bicycling. The only drawback: auto and truck traffic has made bicycling too

dangerous.

One solution is to separate bicyclists from motorists, and Grenoble has bud-greed \$12 million to do just that. By deep start of the series of th

Will bike riders opt for the safe bikeways if it means taking a longer route to their destinations? To find out, Leclere is now setting up a test bicycle path alongside a heavily used downtown street. But he is already convinced that "a bike should become a second car perfect for cities."

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The Second Most Hated Man

Tooling along I-65 in Alabama, headed for Montgomery, the driver of the green '68 Volkswagen checked the road in front of him, then glanced at the papers in his lap and occasionally leaned over to scribble on a yellow lead of the paper of the volkswagen which was been been strong to the paper with the paper when the paper with the paper with the paper when the paper with the pap

The day before, Harris, 31, had been given the death penalty for murdering a prison guard during a 1974 riot at Alabama's horrendously overcrowded At-

more prison farm. The jury had not bought Defense Attorney Dees' argument that Harris was singled out because under Alabama law, a lifer who commits firstdegree murder must be sentenced to death. Harris was the only lifer involved in the riot. The scribbling that Dees did during his frighteningly industrious drive back from the trial was an outline for Harris' appeal. It will argue that the verdict went against the weight of the evidence.

After a 24-hour weekend with Wife Maureene and their children, Dees was off again last week to Raleigh, N.C.—this time by plane. He was on his way to consult with attorneys working on the case of Joan Little, 20, who escaped from a jail in Washington, N.C. after stabbing the county jailer to death. Little claims that she was defending herself against rape, and Dees was helping to organize a search for evidence to bolster her argument. Many guards in the jail, he contends, regularly extorted sexual favors

from women prisoners. Having set that inquiry in motion, Dees hurried over to Tarboro, N.C., where three young black men, N.C., where three young black men, with the 1973 rape of a white woman, raising echoes of the infamous Scottsboro Boyo case in the '30s. The defendant claim that their victim consented, danta claim that their victim consented and their control of the state charges again, but the trial was postponed until next

Energy like Dees' expended on behalf of so many controversial black de-

fendants explains the lawyer's reputation as "the second most hated man in the state." (No. 1 is Federal Judge Frank Johnson, 56, whose record of civil rights enforcement long ago won him eminence.) Dees has earned his ranking quickly: in January 1972, he was the principal founder of the Southern Poverty Law Center, a public interest group that now has a \$400,000 annual budget. In three years S.P.L.C. attorneys have been involved in court fights that ended the use of Alabama county lines as legislative-district boundaries (thus opening the way to victory for 17 black state legislators), forced the U.S. to stop funding the sterilization of welfare mothers and girls under 18, and integrated the Montgomery Y.M.C.A., a Louisiana cem-

TARABUTATION OF THE PARTY OF TH

ATTORNEY MORRIS DEES
As if a shark were after him.

etery, a Louisiana ambulance service and the Alabama state troopers.

Short-order success is nothing new for the Alabama-born lawyer. Dees has been an acquisitive competitor ever since he won childhood Easter-egg hunts by getting other kids to give him their eggs in return for a bite of the chocolate prize. During his undergraduate and law-school years at the University of Alabama, he and a partner parlayed a birthday-cake agency and other enterprises into a six-figure business. The two then put off practicing law to set up a marketing group that sold specialized cookbooks, among other things. It soon grew into one of the South's largest publishing houses and was sold to the Los Angeles Times in 1969 for \$6 million. Dees was then 31.

Financially set. Does turned to law and eventually the STLC. On the side, he used his direct-mail savey to raise money for politicians, among them George McGovern, for whose 1972 campaign his mailings raked in \$20 million. Does plays as he works—swimming as if a shark were after him, riding with the recklesness of a professional rodect cowboy, which he once was part-time. But the sort of a white Alaboma farmer causes of the South's blacks.

He's a poor boy who always worked hard and came to understand that poor blacks and poor whites face the same enemies," says Charles Morgan Jr., director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union. Friend and foe alike suspect that he has political ambitions, but Dees denies it. courts force everything," he says. "All the big issues are settled there." As he sees it, much is left to settle: "Today's attitude of the courts in the South is worse than it was in the pre-civil rights days when racism was wide open. Resentment has never stopped building since Brown v. Board of Education in 1954. and it's just now beginning to surface in its own horrid form." With his energy and abrasive self-confidence, Dees may not be able to end the resentment, but he figures he just might help keep it in check.

Spiking Cannon

Although her chambers at one time were done in shocking pink, Los Angeles Municipal Court Judge Noel Cannon often chose language that was decidedly blue. She once inquired in the vernacular whether guards conducting a search had looked up the rectum of a lawyer whom she had just jailed for contempt. On another occasion off the bench, she threatened to give a traffic policeman "a vasectomy with a .38." To round out her reputation, she sometimes heard cases with her pet Chihuahua in her lap, and for a while had a toy canary that punctuated lawyers' arguments with mechanical peeps. Few attorneys dared to pipe back publicly. So for twelve years Judge Cannon presided as a choice gossip topic in the L.A.

But her increasing propensity to juil and dismiss defines attorneys by juil and dismiss defines attorneys primor or nonexistent infractions led final to a medical to spike Cannol. Last week a California judicial commission formally asked the state supreme court to remove the Stanford Law School graduate for willful misconduct and actions 'prejudicial to the administration and the state supremedical to the administration supported producing the court's details. She has yet to shoot back with her reaction—at least in public.

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their original sticker price than Nova, Valiant and Dart.**

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Gasoline charge on Maverick and dealer preparation on Maverick,
Valiant and Dart not included and may affoct comparison.
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*124 less than the least expensive Datsun

*500 less than the least expensive Opel

*270 less than Mazda's least expensive 2-door

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Revolutionary Olympus

In 174 Louis XVI became King of France, in 1830, Charles X fell. These ture of French thought changed more adically in those 50 years than it ever had before, or would again, So did itsculwhich moved, as it were, from the pitch which moved, as it were, from the pitch thights of Boucher's Miss O'Murphy hou the martial sinews of David's House and thence to the tumescent flesh of Dalacrok's alway girst almost within the learness was the service of the service of the doas years of the Revolution, the Dicrectorate and the Empire have long been

the art historian's Bermuda Triangle. They are crudely charted with the routine marks "classical" and "romantic," shoaled with contradiction, ready to sink almost any generalization.

It takes one great exhibition to open the subject afresh; and now it has come, under the title "French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution." Jointly organized by France's Réunion des Musées Nationaux, the Detroit Institute of Arts and the Metropolitan Museum, it was seen last year at the Grand Palais in Paris. In an abbreviated form (149 paintings out of the original 207), it opened last week in Detroit, and will go to the Met in June

Despite the cuts forced by the Met's director. Thomas Hoving, the show remains a triumph of connoisseurship—one of the great museum events of the past 20 years. This is due in no small part to the detail. Rather than being a portmanteau of highs. The shibition includes an immense range of underrated "minor" figures like

the neoclassicists Jean-François-Pierre Peyron and Jean Germain Drouais. The subject matter runs from the grandest of historical paintings to an eccentric still life with stuffed birds, the figures, from a swooning and epicene Death of Hyacinth by Jean Broc to the passionate and despairing cragginess of Delacroix's Christ in the Garden of Olives. 1827 (see color page).

About Herees. One fiction that the show destroys is the lingering idea that revolutions in politics produce revolutionary art styles. The notion that the events of 1789 filled the Salon with blood, grapeshot and equality is a myth. As the catalogue reminds us, "It is generally agreed that the Revolution did not seriously affect the development of

French painting." Thus when it came, the successful portraitists—most of whom, like the gifted Adelaide Labille-Guiard, were women—simply turned from painting the court to recording the features of eminences like Robespierre and Talleyrand.

What became the Revolution's house style, neoclassicism, had been steadily developing since the reign of Louis XV. The grand exhortations to "order and severity" produced by the Revolution's painter laureate, Jacques-Louis David—The Oath of the Horati, Socrates Drinking the Hemlock—were about as hierarchical and ellists as ar

J.A.D. INGRES'S JUPITER AND THETIS, 1811
A sharp contour supposedly driveth out lust.

can be. They were about heroes, not average men; and the world of stoic virtue and exemplary action that unfolds in them is far removed from the reality of the Revolution. The fate of David's portrait of Lavoisier and His Wife was instructive. He rendered this savant, the discoverer of oxygen, in heroic terms, though muted by domesticity; like Homer or Dante, Lavoisier is seen with symbolic appurtenances (the magnificent still life of scientific instruments does duty for the bardic wreath and scroll), presided over by his wife as Muse. Yet Lavoisier was guillotined in the Terror, and the painting was kept from exhibition for political reasons

However, the Revolution's big gift to art was not some chimera of "radical style." It was the museum. There, as David and his colleagues foresaw, the eclectic authority of the past would become the teacher, displacing the personal authority of whatever matire was running the academy. Thus the museum became the embodiment of free choice.

Fig. 6 Freed. It was there that the first first

nands on in conquered territory. This exercise in epic greed was an unqualified success. It assured the dominance of French art for another hundred years.

Meanwhile, the seeds of "romanticism" were being laid within the authoritarian gloire of the Empire. Where did the impulse toward exotic subjects, far travel and weird archaeologies, which would propel Delacroix to Algiers, begin? The show's thesis is that it was fixed in the French imagination by Napoleon's campaigns, especially by the invasion of Egypt. The lure of the crag and the mystery of the Pyramids were Napoleonic properties; and when Hubert Robert, in 1798, took a maypole dance in Arcady and transformed it into a ring of nymphs dancing around an eroded and indecently suggestive obelisk, he gave a pastoral form to the obsession which, in part, seems to have driven Napoleon to the Nile -the symbolic conquest of eternity by masculinity.

By the same token, the average and the classical art as sensually diluted. A sharp contact and a sensually diluted. A sharp counter supposed of writer that the counter supposed of the counter suppos

There is, in short, almost no detail of french art that this exhibition cannot challenge or revise. What museum enterprise could hope for more than that?

could rival





Delacroix's "Christ in the Garden of Olives"







A Doll's Hearse

A DOLL'S HOUSE by HENRIK IBSEN

Anticipation proves to have been the best part of Liv Ullmann's Nora. She is giving a middling performance in a selfindulgent vanity production. Stardom is a powerful narcotic which, like pride, has frequently preceded a fall.

Perhaps there should be a talentdepletion allowance for actors and actresses who linger too long in films. In any event, the stage makes different demands, and in the present instance Ullmann is simply not up to them. This is not entirely her fault. Her marvelously expressive face and luminous blue eyes perform exquisite miracles in camera closeups. In the vast spaces of Lincoln Center's Vivian Beaumont Theater these precious attributes, and their power to move, are lost

As to flaws, Ullmann has a thin voice with a narrow, monotonous range. In a Bergman film, with its still, deep pauses, this is not immediately apparent, but onstage it becomes a cumulative irritant. Ullmann's English is good. but not quite good enough. Taking the skylark and "little squirrel" imagery of the play literally, she skitters about the stage like a sandpiper. This does not destroy Nora's coquettishness, but it certainly diminishes it. There seems to be an arbitrary rhetoric of motions with which Ullmann plays the role. When she fears that her husband Torvald (Sam Waterston) will discover her secret dealings with the malignant moneylender Krogstadt (Barton Heyman), she makes the panicky gestures of a heroine in a silent-movie melodrama. When she reads the riot act to Torvald prior to slamming the famous door, she sits as motionless as a pillar of ice. Presumably, this translates as "frozenly adamant."

Here we are at the core of Ullmann's misconception of the role. Her Nora does not grow toward self-awareness or strive for emancipation (as Claire Bloom's so affectingly did a few seasons ago). Instead, she simply seems to assert herself by different methods. Thus there is no sense of either exhilaration or poignance in her departure.

The supporting cast cannot save A Doll's House if the Nora buckles. Still, this cast might be sued for non-support. With no trace of a guiding hand from Norwegian Director Tormod Skagestad. the players appear to be introducing themselves to each other at first rehearsal. As Torvald, Waterston is a mildly ruffled porcupine who can be dequilled instantly by Ullmann, Petty or not, Torvald should be a visible tyrant. After all, Nora is not slamming the door at middle-level management, but at the historic tyranny of convention



ULLMANN & WATERSTON IN HOUSE Rhetoric of motions

As the man who triggers the mechanics of the play by making a secret loan to Nora and then writing her husband a letter about it, Krogstadt should be ominous. Yet Heyman merely huffs and puffs like a March wind. Dr. Rank. Nora's platonic admirer, is dying of hereditary syphilis and is in considerable agony. No one has apparently mentioned this to Michael Granger, who plays the doctor as if he were an aging boulevardier with a head cold

Though it is an aesthetic dud. A Doll's House is a sold-out hit for its seven-week run. Joseph Papp engineered it that way by settling for star power. This is faintly amusing considering his long and loud castigations of Broadway commercialism. Too bad he didn't consult a Broadway producer before casting the play. T.E. Kalem

Charles the Vapid

GOODTIME CHARLEY Book by SIDNEY MICHAELS Music by LARRY GROSSMAN Lyrics by HAL HACKADY

If this musical runs long enough to generate word of mouth, the word is likely to be "blah." Not that Goodtime Charley is malignant; it is merely inane. It is not clear how the notion entered the producers' heads that the saga of Joan of Arc raising sword and soldiers to have the Dauphin crowned King of France (while she ultimately dies at the stake) had the makings of a musical comedy. At that crazed moment, they should have consulted an exorcist.

Charley is one of those torpid hybrids, cutesie Broadway vulgarity grafted onto the bones of history. Charley (Joel Grey), later to become Charles VII. is presented as an adolescent playboy too hot for the flesh ("I'm something else/ Unlocking chastity belts") to pursue the crown. Actually, Grey with his wistful, tot-like air acts as if he would be happier in a sandbox than a boudoir.

Joan (Ann Reinking) comes on like a female Vince Lombardi who feels she can psych Charley into a zest for winning. She sings pep talks at him like To Make the Boy a Man and I Am Going to Love (the Man You're Going to Be). But somehow he never seems to become quite the man that she is. She dominates the action, partly because playgoers cannot really forget Shaw's Saint Joan. though nothing, unfortunately, has been borrowed from G.B.S.

Both Reinking and Grev perform feats of theatrical valor, but their talents are wasted. Grev is given only one dance, which he executes with goatfooted guile, while Reinking courses across the stage like a thoroughbred in the stretch. The music races toward oblivion rather than anyone's ears. Rouben Ter-Arutunian's majestic scenery features a columned, rotunda-like set with a cascade of steps. This forces Onna White to choreograph dances in which the chorus troops trippingly, and repeatedly, up and down.

Subliminally, it all reminds one of those '30s and '40s movies in which Hollywood tried to convey its impression of what a Broadway musical was like. Sadly, Goodtime Charley is not what a good Broadway musical is now like. BT.F.K.

KING & GREY IN CHARLES



The Saxon Establishment

"When I was an assistant professor," asys Theoretical Physicist David Saxon. "I thought the role of a university administrator had nothing to do with any-thing." Saxon, 55, will soon have ample opportunity to find out if he was right. It has just been announced that in July campus, 122-436-student University of California, a trend setter in U.S. higher education.

Saxon, vice chancellor of U.C.L.A. and provost of the entire university, will assume the top job at a crucial period. Once unquestionably one of the best universities in the nation, California has been buffeted by both the excesses of student demonstrators in the 1960s and the conservative fiscal policies of former Governor Ronald Reagan. Libraries and the physical plant have deteriorated, and the university's vigorous growth has been brought to a halt. Berkeley has dropped its departments of criminology and demography; U.C.L.A. has closed down its department of speech and graduate school of journalism. Although U.C. is still one of the outstanding universities, its quality and reputation have clearly been tarnished

Liberel Candidate. Whether Saxon is a strong enough leader—or will be permitted to have the power—to reinvigorate the university is an open question. Since last fall, when Charles Hitch announced his plans to retire, the regents' search committee had culled a list of 260 names to find a new president. The choice finally narrowed down to

Saxon, the candidate of the liberals and moderates, and Robben Fleming, president of the University of Michigan, who was backed by the conservatives. After several trips to California, Fleming withdrew from the running and the regents, with less than a solid vote of confidence, picked Saxon. On the final ballot 13 regents voted for Saxon, four abstained and six were absent. Saxon was chosen, says the regents' chairman William French Smith, because, among other reasons, he knew how the system works: "You can't take too many risks when putting someone in charge of a billion-dollar-plus operating budget

Saxon came to U.C.L.A. in 1947 at lear earning a PhD. at M.I.T. and doing some research in that school's radiation laboratory. He progressed through the ranks at U.C. along the way collecting what he terms his most satisfying achievement: U.C.L.A's distinguished teaching award. He still likes to return to the classroom, last year he found time only the control of the classroom is at year he found time only the still like to return to the classroom, last year he found time only the still like to return to the classroom; last year he found time only the still like to return to the classroom; last year he found time to the still like to the still like the still like to the still like the st

Given to well-worn tweeds and a dry intellectual wit, Saxon relaxes by playing the recorder in a Baroque chamber group or sitting down with friends for an evening of poker. An avid gardener, he is getting ready to transplant his 30 carefully tended bonsai trees from Los Angeles to the magnificent hillside gwith a \$59,500 salary—goes with the president is job.

Saxon describes himself as "some-what reserved." He will need to cast off some of that academic cool, however, to deal with newly elected Governor Jer-y Brown, who has proposed an almost standard the regents construction research and the standard the regents construction research to the standard the regents construction research to the standard that th



In his seven years as dean of the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, expansive, flamboyant Dwight Allen. 44, worked miracles (TIME, Dec. 21, 1970). Demonstrating a genius for fund raising, he brought in a total of \$15 million in fedral and foundation grants. With a flair for innovation, he transformed the university into a flourishing but controversial school that concentrated on university into a flourishing but controversial school that concentrated on university during a flourishing but controversial school that concentrated on university into a flourishing but controversial school and minority problems



FORMER DEAN DWIGHT ALLEN
The empire is falling apart.

and encouraged a "do your own thing" attitude among students and faculty. Wearing colorful custom-tailored African shirts, he toured the country, making as many as 400 speeches a year, preaching the free-wheeling education theories that he practiced on campus.

theories that he practiced on campus.

Although the rest of the university is functioning normally, Allen's empire is falling apart. Last week a federal grand jury subpoenaed the School of Education's financial records for most of Allen's reign. The FBI and the state attempts of the substancial records for federal funds at the school, and Allen and three other the school, and Allen and three other

deans have resigned.

Academic Retreats. The financial problems were first uncovered by then Assistant Dean Bob Suzuki while he was reviewing the school's books. After he sent memos to the university administration about the possible misuse of minds, somebody smashed three winds, and the sent proposed of the sent proposed

Among the school's unusual fiscal practices that have surfaced, part of a \$1.4 million federal grant for a University of Massachusetts-aponsored teacher-training program in Brooklyn seems to have been spent on "academic retreats" in Montreal hotels. Two checks were made out to "consultants" who apparent and the program of the program

university officials called Allen, who has



Recorders and bonsai trees.

been on a sabbatical since September setting up a teachers' college in Lesotho, an independent black nation in the Republic of South Africa. Allen flew home, surveyed the growing scandal and promptly resigned as dean, although he retained his tenured position as a professor on the U. Mass faculty.

No one has accused Allen of missing the funds himself, but he is being held responsible for a variety of other ins. Tobughi is an operator, a wheeler-dealer, says Professor Robert Wellman. Adds Professor Albert Authour; 164 a P.T. Barnum type. He knew damn well be couldn't make the school rank in the top two or three in a few years by scholarly rigar. So he went into all of the instructions that were hot in the late 056 in the school rank in the couldn't make make the professor of the professor

Under Allen, the School of Education earned a reputation as a diploma mill. In the past three years it granted more than 387 doctoral degrees. Some doctorates were awarded to students who had no undergraduate degrees. The writing in many doctoral theses was

barely at high school level.

Allen has now taken to wearing dark suits and acting with restraint. "The programs of this school are secure," he says, "A bank isn't considered a failure because one of its cashiers is caught with his hand in the till." What should U. Mass look for in picking Allen's successor? "Someone who will continue my programs," says Allen, "but someone with a different style."

Report Card

▶ When the San Francisco board of education announced recently that it no longer had enough money to pay coaches and teachers overtime and had to cancel all after-school sports, drama, music and forensics programs, everybody pitched in to help. The coaches agreed to work one year without overtime pay, and private donations of \$70,000 rescued some of the cultural programs. That barely put a dent in the board's \$4 million deficit, but Rock Impresario Bill Graham may yet save the day. He has scheduled a benefit concert of ten major acts (including the Jefferson Starship. Joan Baez and Santana) in the city's 59,626-seat Kezar Stadium. The concert, on March 23, is called SNACK-Students Need Athletics, Culture and Kicks: the audience will pay a \$5 admission to boogie down from midmorning to dusk. In addition. Graham will sell special SNACK T shirts for \$4 each, and all proceeds, after expenses, will go to the

▶ Like many small liberal arts colleges, tiny (596 men, 503 women) Heidelberg College in Tiffin, Ohio, has been having trouble recruiting students. Now, perhaps inspired by the Detroit automakers' rebate plan to increase sales,



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EDUCATION

Heidelberg's 39 trustees reached into their own pockets for a \$125,000 kitty to underwrite a merit-scholarship plan. Students at or near the top of their high school class will be offered scholarships in the form of reduced tuition charges. For the most deserving, as much as \$1,000 will be sliced from the college's \$2,520 tuition.

▶ After the school board in the quiet desert town of Apple Valley, Calif., voted to fire high school Gym Teacher Lou Zivkovich has fall because he had appeared nude in the centerfold of Playgirl magazine. Zivkovich, 3a, appealed the decision. Last week a state appeals panel admonished him for a "mistake in judgment," but ruled that he could



LOU ZIVKOVICH'S PLAYGIRL CENTERFOLD
A national victory for teachers.

not be fired. Zivkovich, who received \$1,000 plus an expenses-paid weekend in Hawaii for his extracurricular modeling job, called the ruling a "national victory" for the rights of teachers.

A report on Harvard and Radcliffe admissions last week proposed the inevitable: the two schools should adont a sex-blind admissions policy "as soon as practical"-meaning next year. Such a policy would probably not immediately alter the current ratio of 2.5 men to every woman, because fewer women apply. Harvard President Derek Bok and Radcliffe President Matina Horner issued a joint statement saying that the major recommendations of the report 'seem to us to have great merit." The proposals still have to be approved by the faculty and trustees. But some Harvard officials and alumni are worried about the long-range consequences They feel that the proportion of female students will eventually rise, resulting in a smaller number of male students and thus fewer sons of Harvard fathers Furthermore, men usually contribute more to alumni fund-raising drives than do women

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railroads.



Papal Putdown

No modern Pope has tried more earnestly than Paul VI to control the proudly independent Society of Jesus. When the policymaking General Congregation of 235 Jesuits from 80 countries convened three months ago in Rome, Pope Paul made known that he wanted no changes made regarding the "fourth vow" of special loyalty to the Pope, which some Jesuits take in addition to the three usual vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. His reasoning: to extend the elitist yow to all Jesuit priests (fewer than 50% are now allowed to take it) would weaken it as a commitment. Undaunted, the Congregation, by more than a two-thirds majority, agreed in a preliminary vote to extend the vow to all Jesuit priests (TIME, Feb 10). The Pope responded militantly. In a letter to Jesuit Superior General Pedro Arrupe, he not only vetoed the fourth-vow action, but insisted on his right to approve every document from the Congregation-despite a longstanding custom that Popes review only major constitu-

tional changes. It was a stunning rebuke. Arrupe requested a meeting, which was held last month in Paul's private library. While Arrupe's first assistant waited in an anteroom, the Superior General entered the library to find seated with the Pontiff Archibshop Giovanin Benelli, the No. 2 man at the Seretariat of State, where hossility to the Jesuits often runs high. The Pope was warm but firm. Arrupe's responsibility, he insisted, was to reimpose discipline and respect for tradition and persuade the increasingly egaliartan Jesuits not to change the structure of their order-Paul's mesage to the Jesuits enough in-

Most Controversial. The Jesuit fathers, according to one, were left "reeling" and "crestfallen" by the papal attitude, but nevertheless completed work on a dozen documents last week. The most controversial of these, TIME learned, was called "Faith and Justice." It asserts that Jesuits must attack poverty and injustice even if that means in some cases struggling against oppressive governments. Life within the order would be changed by another much debated document that would ensure that Jesuits live up to their vow of poverty. Funds earmarked for Jesuit schools and institutions would be kept separate from those of the Jesuits' own living communities. Other legislation would stream-

line candidates' training.

Because of the papal review that had to take place, the Jesuits were not sure that their documents would be accepted. There were even rumors that Arrupe might resign if the documents were vetoed. Then, in the final hours of the General Congregation last week, Pope Paul sought to reassure the Jesuits. He summoned Arrupe and his four top assistants to a special meeting. The mood was noticeably different from that of the earlier meeting. The Pontiff explained that it was this very affection that we have for you that drove us to interpose our authority in the course of recent events. After presenting the Jesuits with a valuable crucifix, he announced that he had approved the four documents he had received so far from the Congregation -including one that could provide a back-door way for more men to take the

That, of course, leaves open the fate of the other documents. The Jesuit fathers went home hoping that the Pope would swiftly approve them to avoid a long-term struggle. Remarked one Jesuit: "Pope Paul is afraid that the order will disappear by becoming too secularized. But there's a danger that he might annihilate it by taking it over and turning us into dusty little papal vallets."

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To "break in" a pipe smoke slowly to the bottom.

A good pipe tool is indispensable.

After smoking, insert pipe cleaner and place pipe bowldown in rack.

le Before smoking your pipe for the first time, moisten a fingertip with water and rub it around the inside of the bowl. This will insulate the bowl against the heat of the first smoke. Then, be sure to use a quality tobacco. May we be so bold as to suggest Amphora?

2. To "break in" your pipe only half fill the bowl for the first few smokes. Tamp the tobacco evenly and be sure top surface of the tobacco is well lit. (See illustration above.)

3. When you pack a full bowl, press the tobacco lightly in the lower part, more firmly up on top.

4. To build an even "cake" smoke the tobacco slowly to the bottom. Occasionally tamp the ashes gently and rekindle immediately if light goes out.

5. A pipe should keep its cool. If yours is getting hot, set it aside, tamp the ashes and don't relight until the bowl feels comfortable in your hand.

6. When you've worked hard, you enjoy a rest. So does your chum, the pipe. Never refill a hot pipe. Let it cool and switch over to one of your other pipes. We can all use a little variety now and then.

7. When you finish a bowlful remove the ashes with your pipe tool. To absorb excess moisture insert a pipe cleaner in the shank and put your pipe to bed in a pipe rack, bowl face-down.

8. A layer of carbon will build up in the bowl of your pipe as you continue to use it. This is good as it improves the draft and provides even burning. But don't allow the carbon layer to be thicker than the thickness of a penny.

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The New Alchemists

The name on the mailbox.—New Althemy Institute—suggests that the small Cape Cod farm is dedicated to the ancient quest for a way of transforming base metals into gold. In fact, the farmers are pursuing an equally elusive but more modern goal: alternative methods of feeding the earth's billions without excess use of fertilizers and pesticides, waste of coal and oil, or reliance on the new hybrid grain crops, which despite their high yield are often vulnerable to

That is the heady dream of the institute's young founders, Marine Biologists John H. Todd, 35, and William O. McLarney, 34. Their crusade began in 1969 while they were teaching at San Diego State University. Between classes. they began looking into the prospects of cultivating fish and plants, and using wind and solar power directly instead of energy-wasting farm machinery. They called their experiment the New Alchemy Institute as a reminder of a time when science, art and philosophy were not considered separate or even antagonistic pursuits. Later Todd and Mc-Larney moved to Massachusetts and joined the staff of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. Now both have left, and are devoting themselves full time to the new alchemy

Located on twelve acres of leased land near Falmouth, the institute focuses most of its attention on a growing scientific concern: that the Green Revolution may be failing. As Todd explains it, the use of pest killers to maintain the revolution's high-yield grains has trip great which turn makes crops more valuerable to pests or disease. This cretates a need for increasingly large acts a need for increasingly large

amounts of pesticides and fungicides for agricultural production to be sustained."

As a result, says Todd, he shares "the disquieting feeling that we are witnessing the agricultural equivalent of the launching of the *Titanic*, only this time there are several billion passengers."

As one small lifeboat for some of those passengers, Todd and McLarney have created a prototype agricultural "ark," a self-sufficient food-producing complex involving greenhouses, fish ponds, solar heaters and a windmill. The odd layout is clustered around three greenhouse-covered ponds built on an incline. The lowest pond contains a variety of edible fish, mostly the tasty tropical tilapia (somewhat like the sunfish). Pumped by the windmill, the water from this pond is passed through a solar heater, then circulated through a bed of crushed, bacteria-laden shells in the topmost pond. The bacteria not only detoxify the fish wastes but convert the ammonia in them to nitrites and nitrates, which are used to fertilize algae in another part of the pond.

Full Diet. Then the algae-enriched water is fed into the middle pond, where the microscopic plants provide feed for tiny crustaceans called daphnids, or water fleas. Finally, water containing fleas and algae flows back into the bottom tank, where it provides a full diet for the tilapia. Nothing is wasted: in the warm greenhouse space above the tables even in the dead of the New England winter. The plants are fertilized by the nutrient-laden fish water. To protect their harvests against bugs, the scientists have brought insect-eating frogs, spiders and chameleons instead of pesticides into the greenhouses.

In its first year, the ark's main 8,000gallon pond has produced two 50-lb. crops of fish—a better yield, says Todd, than achieved by China's successful aquaculture ponds. Not counting the \$9,000-a-year salaries (plus \$2,000 per dependent) that the institute has begun to pay some of its dozen full-time staffers the entire cost of building and stocking the ark was only \$2,300.

Mean Veora: Although the institute has gone through hean years, volunteer farmers now turn up in droves; the institute's journal, edited by Todd's wife Nancy, has a growing circulation. Montey has begun to come in from foundations like the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, finc. A New Alchemy Institute West has been set up in Pescadero. Call, if, south of San Francisco. The Canadian-born Todd plans to build a new and on Prince Evaluate Management of the Proposition of the

Even scientists sympathetic with the institute's philosophy are highly skeptical that such techniques can make much of a dent in the world's enormous food needs. Nor do they all agree with the future of the Green Revolution. But, as the journal Science points out, there is no doubt that Todd and McLarney, in their idealistic quest, have shown that there may be a place alongside traditional agriculture. For the arks and other two places are all the proposed places and the proposed proposed the proposed proposed

Saving the Caspian

One of the Soviet Union's greatest natural assets is the Caspian Sea, the world's largest inland body of salt water. Much of Russia's annual fish catch and most of its black caviar come from the Caspian: tankers ply its waters, carrying oil from Baku to ports in the north. But the Caspian is in trouble. Since 1930 its water level has dropped more than eight feet, leaving fishing villages and port facilities high and dry; the fish catch has been cut more than half. To compensate for the continuing water loss. the Soviets are planning a bold and imaginative project that calls for use of nuclear explosives to blast out more than half of a 70-mile canal across northern Russia

No. The huge canal would connext the Pechan River—which flows anoth into the Barents Sea region of the Arctic the Barents Sea region of the Arctic Cocan—with the southward-flowing Kama River, a tributary of the mighty Vogla (see map page 82). Once the link is made and the necessary dams constructed, part of the Pechora's water will be diverted downhill into the Kama and thence into the Volga, which is and thence into the Volga, which is ter. The increased flow should stabilize ter. The increased flow should stabilize the level of the inland sea. At a recent

WORKERS AT NEW ALCHEMY INSTITUTE REPAIRING DOME OVER FISH POND





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Comparing the 1975 Vega wagon and the '74 model projected over four years of average driving (50,000 miles) points out some operating economies. While parts and labor costs will vary throughout the country, we've used current list prices for parts and a figure of \$11 an hour for labor and found that a '75 Vega wagon using unleaded fuel could save about \$243 in parts, lubricants and labor over the '74 model with leaded fuel (if you follow the

Maintenance savings up to \$243.

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CHEVROLET MAKES SENSE FOR AMERICA

Chevrolet



meeting of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, the Soviets tried to assure fellow members that the explosions would not only cost considerably less than conventional explosives but produce no dangerous fallout either in the U.S.S.R. or abroad. As proof, they revealed hitherto secret details of a 1971 test along the canal route. It involved the simultaneous detonation of a row of three 15-kiloton nuclear charges (compared with 20 kilotons for the Hiroshima bomb), spaced about 500 ft, apart. The blasts produced so little radiation and such stable walls that technicians were able to walk along the rim of the 2,600-ft.-long crater only two days later. The only damages were some cracks in the brick ovens and wall plaster of nearby log cabins. Although the Russians have not done any further blasting, they say that the job could be done with some 250 nuclear devices, mostly in the 100- to 200-kiloton range. fired about 20 at a time.

American reaction to the project is mixed. Physicist Glenn Werth, of the University of California's Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, praises it as both safe and economical. He notes that the Russians have already set off nuclear blasts to stimulate further output from old gas and oil fields, control runaway gas well fires and remove earth for strip mining without any major hitcut and hit

Other American scientists, however, warn that reducing the northward flow of the Pechora's relatively warm freshriver water could reduce the temperature of the Arctic Ocean and cause the ice to expand. Or the Arctic Ocean could become saltier, resulting in a lower freezing point and causing the ice to melt. In the potential to cause major climatological representations of the control of the topic of the control of the topic of the control of the control of the control of the topic of the control of the topic of the control of the co

Paying for News?

Many people are indignant that Watergate figures are being rewarded with fat book contracts and lecture fees. But these are not unusual. What of an interview? Is it ever proper for a news organization to pay someone for an interview, especially if he happens to be a Watergate felon? Last week CBS News plunged into the midst of the controversy by admitting that it had paid "in the neighborhood" of \$25,000 (perhaps as high as \$50,000, said some sources) to H.R. Haldeman, former White House chief of staff during the Nixon Administration, for a 51/2-hour filmed interview with Mike Wallace.

Columnist James Reston of the New York *Times* led the chorus of criticism: "Isn't this a dangerous precedent? . . . If CBS will pay this kind of money for Mr. Haldeman, won't other big shots or notorious characters demand their price?"

The uproar overshadowed the issue of the actual value of the Haldeman interview. The network refuses to reveal anything about its contents. But people who witnessed the filming by Wallace and his 60 Minutes crew at Haldeman's home in Hancock Park, the "old money" section of Los Angeles, claim that Haldeman talked "freely and very candidly" about Watergate. Other CBS sources concede that Haldeman was simply putting his own personal interpretation on old disclosures. Haldeman says only that "I was a part of an important historical period that has been grossly misinterpreted and grossly misunderstood, and I saw this as an opportunity of correctly explaining and interpreting it." CBS may air the interview as early as March 16

Gray Area. The \$25,000 or \$50,000 or \$50,000

ABC and NBC disagree. Both networks turned down the Haldeman offer last fall. Says ABC News President William Sheehan: "A newsmaker should not be paid for an interview, and in this shop H.R. Haldeman is a current hot news story ... Maybe in ten years of deman's memoris, not now." SBC News President Richard C. Wald adds: "It was not a thing I would want to do." Still, both men admit to a "gray area" where they might pay for an interview. Shee-had a "gray area of this if we gray the state of the state

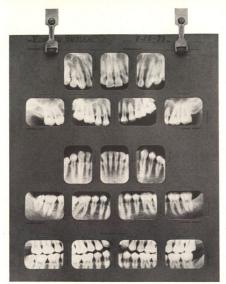
A.M. Rosenthal, managing editor of the New York Times, calls Gris's "memorir' theory invalid." They will be presenting this as a news program ... So how do they distinguish between this and an interview with the Shah of Iran?" Reasons Reston: "The danger is that the flow of much important information will be left with the best interviews monsy can buy."

Ironically, CBs drafted standards years ago, making a firm distinction between news and memoirs. Haldeman's reminiscences apparently slipped through the guidelines. Moreover, CBs News President Richard Salant ripped into NBC News for the quints deal.

By week's end Salant told TIME— 'Tm going to re-examine the whole question and see if I can't redraw the line to get things more precisely back line to get things more precisely back have some and Dwight Eisenhower. I may have slipped here. The last thing in the world I want to do is add to the dangers of having newsworthy people not at still for interviews in hard-news situations. If I added to that, I'm damned unations. If I added to that, I'm damned unation. If I added to that, I'm damned unation. If I added to that, I'm damned unation. I'm damned unation. I'm damned unation I'm damned unation. I'm damned unation I'm damned unation.



CBS INTERVIEWER MIKE WALLACE
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Wolf of God

THE CLOCKWORK TESTAMENT OR ENDERBY'S END by ANTHONY BURGESS 161 pages. Knopf. \$6.95.

"In many ways a dirty book," Annthony Burgess once warned in the columns of the Yorkshire Post. "Those of on my readers with the dret stomenhs are advised to leave it alone." Critic Burgess, as a ti happened, was reviewing a novel of the called Inside Mr. Enderby, ostensibly written by one Joseph Kell but actually the work of a prolific British writer named Anthony Burgess.

Readers who ignored Burgess's checky advice may remember that the eponymous poet, F.X. Enderby, was a fairly unpreposessing fellow. But due to a surfeit of British cooking and intractable intestines, he frequently emitted noxious sounds from both ends. He lived, moreover, in animal squalor, re-lived, moreover, in animal squalor, re-per beaust into his otherwise unused

bathtub Original Sin. Enderby's chief drawback was not digestion but want of genius. Burgess can convincingly describe ways in which images might come to a kind of colloidal suspension in the expectant poet's mind. But when he had to cut the cackle and produce the egg, both reader and author were left in the embarrassing presence of Enderby's mediocre verses. Yet Burgess, a man of wit and genius, has been fond enough of this queasy minor poet to devote one, two and now three volumes to him. Why? Because with all his faults, Enderby is a strong booster of original sin, a commodity, Burgess feels, the modern world greatly underrates.

Burgess, in fact, sees the key moral conflict of our age as an extension of the argument that took place between the heretic Pelagius and St. Augustine some 1,600 years ago. Man, preached Pelagius, is untainted by original sin and is thus perfectible through his own efforts. The cynical saint disagreed and ran Pelagius out of Rome. But this humane heretic's views now dominate society, Burgess suggests, through the delusive notion that men are essentially creatures of their environment whose actions must be controlled by benign behaviorists. Disaster, says Burgess. No original sin, no evil. No evil, no moral choice. No moral choice and human freedom becomes meaningless, man becomes a machine.

These views were futuristically dramatized in both Burgess's novel and Stanley Kubrick's version of The Clockwork Orange. In Enderby's End, Burgess pits the poor poet against the whole city of New York, an area where sin, original or otherwise, is surely not in short supply. Enderby reaches the New World in ways faintly congruent with Burgess's recent career. His name appears among the screenplay credits of a shocking film. and thus notorious, he is offered a teaching post at one of Manhattan's meltingpot universities (in 1972 Burgess lectured at the City College of New York). In Enderby's case, the film is no Clockwork Orange but a salacious travesty of Jesuit Gerard Manley Hopkins' poem The Wreck of the Deutschland.

The poem is both about Hopkins' spiritual odyssey and an elegy for five Franciscan nuns who drowned when a German liner struck a sand bar off the Kentish Knock in November 1875. Enderby's film producers shift the story to pre-World War II Germany, add a (pre-vow) affair between one of the nuns and "Father Tom" Hopkins, and lavish-

d ly document the rape of the nuns by a congregation of SS men.

After the film's release, nuns begin to be raped round the world, and Enderby is blamed for it. Settled into a dingy rented lair near the university on the Upper West Side, Enderby is soon a man much bemused and beleaguered by moralists and behaviorists. In vain he declares that art-even execrable art-is neutral. Loathing the movie more than anyone, he sees it not as a cause but as a symptom of sin. "You ignore art as so much unnecessary garbage," he howls at his tormentors, "or you blame it for your own crimes." Even members of Enderby's creative writing class see him as a "misleading reactionary bastard." He has failed, it appears, to see merit in their "free verse and gutter vocabulary.

Burgess supports his dyspeptic Don Quistoe through all sorts of polemical extremities. The reader is lashed with puns and offered poetic tidbits taken from Hopkins. But the book succeeds less as a novel than as intellectual proerram music.

God's Love. Enderby's position is too cleverly undermined by irony, too mined with paradox, to prevail. In The Wreck of the Deutschland (the poem, not the flick), one of the nuns at the moment of her death "christens her wild worst Best," just as Hopkins himself struggled a lifetime to confirm precisely in private pain and worldy rebuff some clear sign of God's forgiving love. Enderby attempts to perform the same sort of personal miracle. Desperately he tries to see the cruelty, vulgarity and violence not as correctable aberrations but as signs that man is still free, but still in need of God. The attitude makes him something of a sheep in wolf's clothing. Without any as-

HERETICAL MONK BELAGILIS













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PIEDMONT

BOOKS

sertion that men have souls, it also makes him seem a bit perverse.

Burgess might have risked one more quote from Hopkins, Man, one poem said, "This Jack, joke, poor potsherd/ Patch, matchwood, immortal diamond/ Is immortal diamond," Otherwise, what's so wrong with sun-kissed clockwork oranges?
#Imothy Foote

A Shifty Defense

BEFORE THE FALL

by WILLIAM SAFIRE

704 pages. Doubleday. \$12.50.

Nixon: You think of Truman—a fighter. Eisenhower—a good man. Kennedy—charisma. Johnson—work. Me —what?

Safire: Competence. Sorry about that.

This exchange between President Nixon and William Safire, one of his top



WILLIAM SAFIRE Never enough of an insider.

much about both mer. Niton self-consciously complaining, that his prisonal strengths were not being sold to the public by his staff, had his image problem confirmed by the unawed Safire, whose humor often took the edge off his frequently rejected advice to the President, output of the pre-water produced as the count of the pre-watergate Nixon Administration, the episode also conveys Safire's slickly polithed priors style. "He smilled reefully." Safire writes of Nixon Administration and thing the production of the smilled reefully." Safire writes of Nixon the point he had made."

Safire claims to write "neither in defense nor denunciation," but what he has produced is the cleverest, if still unconting, defense of Nixon yet. He devotes too much space to a glorification of Nixon's meager domestic program, which he sees as a near revolutionary "New Federalism" in government. In foreign affairs, he uncritically accepts

"We're running out of trees." The great American myth.

A recent Gallup Poll shows most Americans think our forests are vanishing - that we're running out of trees.

Fortunately, we aren't.

True, civilization is encroaching on the forest, but we still have about 753 million acres of forest-

That's close to three-fourths of what was here when the Pilgrims landed.

More than half of the American forest is east of the Mississippi. Both Massachusetts and Connecticut are 62% forested today. New Jersey and New York are about 50% forest. And about 28% of the total American Forest is in the thirteen Southern states.

In a few states we're even gaining a little ground. Maine is about 90% forest today - up from 80% in the late 1930's.

The forest industry continues to grow more wood than it harvests. In many places it actually is speeding up the forest cycle by a third or more to yield more wood and wood fiber from the same land

For example, America's wood products industry owns only 13% of the nation's commercial forest*.



Yet it grows enough raw material for almost 30% of the wood products made in the U.S. each year. The reason such a small fraction of the land can produce such a large fraction of the wood we need is intensive management and heavy capital investment in forestry.

And we'll need every bit of it to meet the growing demand for paper and wood products.

The good news is that we need never run out of forests-or wood products - in the United States. Not if we manage what we have wisely and continue to encourage involvement in forestry.

*Commercial forest is described as that portion of the total forest which is capable and available for growing trees for harvest. Parks, Wilderness and Primitive Areas are not included

That means adequate funding of federal and state forestry agencies to pay for the care of 136 million acres of publicly owned commercial timberland.

It also means encouraging small woodlot owners who own 59% of our nation's most productive forest land. And it means government policies that encourage private investment in forestry.

So trees aren't like oil, or coal or even plastics. They're more like the storied cake: one we can eat. and have, too.

If you'd like to know more about the new American forest, write George C. Cheek, Executive Vice President, American Forest Institute, P.O. Box 38, Riverdale, Maryland 20840.



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Museum Collections

BOOKS

Nixon's Viet Nam policies while—more reasonably—extolling the Nixon initiatives in Peking and Moscow

In fact, the book is unrelentingly harsh on the ex-President only when to be otherwise would completely ruin Safire's own credibility. He assails Nixon's loathing of the press, his taping and wiretapping, his lying about Watergate. Yet even about these seemingly inexcusable Nixon transgressions Safire tries to plant redeeming doubts. Formerly a public relations man and now an erratic columnist for the New York Times, Safire seems to share his former boss's conspiratorial view of the press. According to Safire, it was "hatred of the press that slowly, steadily, and then suddenly pulled Nixon down." But Safire does not make clear whether he thinks Nixon's enmity for the press caused him to tap newsmen's phones, unleash leak-plugging plumbers, etc., or whether reporters simply reacted to the hatred by overplaying the Nixon scandal. Either explanation, of course, is simplistic.

Safire concedes that "Nixon talked not while daring greatly, but while lying meanly." Then he proceeds to place greater responsibility on H.R. Haldeman than on the President for the "eigs-stem that ultimately exposed the lies arrogance" of a White House taping stem that ultimately exposed the less was "to provide history with a stem, was "to provide history with a stem, was "to provide history with stem yet with the large with the "dark prevent the denigration of a peacemaker." Incredibly, Saffre insists that the "dark side" of Nixon shown on

the tapes was not the real Nixon Unkind Cut, "Underneath the imitation-oak-grained formica veneer is solid oak, beneath that phony image of character is character," writes Safire. But what is the nature of that character? He never succeeds in defining it. Perhaps there never was anything cohesive in Nixon's character. Perhaps Safire is simply too compassionate to label it. Such ambiguity of approach may partly explain why Safire's original publisher, William Morrow & Co., rejected his manuscript as unsatisfactory (the author lost his suit to recover all of a promised \$250,000 advance, settling for \$83,000). Still. Safire offers lively anecdotes about the Administration. He is good at recounting exactly how policy was shaped and presidential speeches honed. (Nixon shrewdly asked his three writers, Liberal Ray Price, Conservative Patrick Buchanan and Centrist Safire, to make first drafts along the lines that they would find personally congenial, then often had them rewrite each other for bal-

and Safier's unkindest cuts are saved for Henry Kissinger. He charges that Kissinger first had his own telephone bugged and afterward lied about Safire also Bally asserts that Kissinger deviously recorded telephone conversations with newsmen—sometimes belittiling his long-suffering foreign affairs adversary, Secretary of State William Rogers—then deliberately altered the transcripts and sent them to Haldeman to portray the resulting stories as wrong.

There are some committed as warms of the control of

To his relief, Safire was never enough of an insider to be admitted to Nixon's Watergate conversations. But he was the official notestaker at countless other meetings, scribbling away, cleaning up everyone's syntax, deleting ahs and ahums, making everyone sound decisive. He did not know, of course, that Nixon's recorders were silently and efficiently capturing everything that he was leaving out. "Edward Magnuson leaving out."

Extra-Dispensary Perceptions

HEALING: A DOCTOR IN SEARCH OF A MIRACLE by WILLIAM A. NOLEN, M.D. 308 pages. Random House. \$8.95.

Dr. William A. Nolen, author of The Making of a Surgeon (1970), is hardly the first member of his profession to debunk faith healing, but he is the first to write open-mindedly about metaphysical an medicine. He became so imbued with investigatory zeal that he subjected himself to a "psychic operation." The result of his two years of research is a book properties of the properties of the properties of patient who prefers spirits to science.

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Nolen, who practices surgery in Litchfield, Minn. (pop. 5,262), admits that psychic cures can be impressive. He watched as people in a Minneapolis auditorium flocked onstage to claim that they had been cured by Faith Healer Kathryn Kuhlman, who is neither an ordained minister nor a physician but heads a Pittsburgh-based foundation that bears her name. Follow-up, however, showed that Kuhlman's cures were something less than miraculous. Sufferers from migraine headaches, which are often caused by emotional problems, did feel relief after the healing service. So did people with bursitis, a painful but transient joint inflammation, and a few with multiple sclerosis, a cyclical disease that often gets better before it gets worse. But cancer victims remained noticeably unhealed. One cancer patient, who felt so good during the service witnessed by Nolen that she exercised onstage, died of

the disease four months later Nolen does not believe that Miss Kuhlman and many other faith healers are consciously dishonest. But he has no use for the psychic surgeons who "operate" in the Philippines, often on desperate patients who have spent plenty of money to get there. He watched several of these sleight-of-hand artists scratch their patients with deftly concealed mica flecks to give the impression that they had made incisions by sheer psychic energy. Nolen also discovered that the healers simulated blood with betel-nut juice, and quickly disposed of all tissues supposedly removed during their operations to prevent laboratory analysis

Concealed Blob. Finally, Nolen, who had not revealed his identity, tested Filipino healers by undergoing surgery himself for high blood pressure. Before the operation began, he noticed his "surgeon" palming a reddish-yellow object. During the operation, he watched the psychic double up his hands so that it would look as if they were inside Nolen's body. Nolen, who knows a little anatomy, was not fooled: the surgeon's hands never even penetrated his skin. Nor was Nolen impressed by the results of the operation. The surgeon held up the blob he had been concealing in his hand and told Nolen he had removed a tumor. Nolen. who has removed enough tumors to know what one looks like, recognized the tissue as a lump of fat, probably from a chicken

Despite these discoveries, Healing is not an angry book. For one thing, Nolen recognizes that it is often doctors themselves who drive patients to the healers: "Some healers offer patients more warmth and compassion than physicians do." More important, Nolen acknowledges that, in some cases, the healers actually heal. Faith healers can and often do cure psychosomatic ailments. But they cannot cure organic illnesses The problem is that the psychics as well as their patients frequently do not know the difference. Doctors do, or at least should Peter Stoler

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Erikson Revisited

For those who think an optimistic rredulan is like a Swiss admiral, there is always Erik Erikson. Freud's vision despite his promise of healing, was a dark one, overlaid with personal and cultural pessimism. Erikson, now '2 and in semiretirement in California, is probably the most influential living psychoanalyst and certainly the most optimistic thinker the Freudan tradition has pro-leaders (Luther, Gandhi) attempts to show how men can use neutrotic conflict for constructive social purposes while healing themselves in the process.

In recent years, Erikson has been



Biology is destiny, sort of.

the target of growing criticism. Students complain of the ambiguity and elusiveness of his pronouncements. Feminists denounce him for his 1963 essay, Womanhood and the Inner Space, in which he insisted that anatomy is destiny, and that a woman is "never not a woman. He recently repudiated his long-held sunny view of the American character and depicted the nation as a world bully that has "transgressed against humanity and nature." One of his critics, University of Michigan Psychologist David Gutmann, wrote in Commentary last fall that Erikson "has begun to sound less like a psychologist lately than like a theologian.

In a new collection of essays and lectures, Life History and the Historical Moment (Norton; \$9.95), Erikson returns to some of these issues:

▶ On social identities: In Erikson's thinking, each person works out his or

her identity in relation to a group that is worthy of respect—a nation, class, tribe, or caste. In recent years, however, he has downgraded the value of these groups, referring to them as dangerous "pseudo species" that maintain their own uniqueness by dehumanizing others. Each of these groups enforces a "normality" which may, in fact, be sick.

▶ On the ethics of psychoanalysis: Analysis traditionally regards itself as a therapy that provides self-knowledge but avoids prescribing values for patients. Erikson now says that this is an illusion: analysts intervene in the process by which natients create their values. Sometimes this is done by adjusting an individual to society's expectations, sometimes by seeming to encourage destructively "unrepressed" behavior (like a selfish sexual life that uses other people as objects). Erikson is unclear as to whether analysts can ever stop prescribing values, however unconsciously. But he insists they must try to do so, particularly since he expects rising pressures to turn them into gurus.

• On women: Erikson's clarifications of his 1963 essay do not clarify much. He seems to be saying that biology is destiny, sort of. He describes again his clinical observation of the play of pubescent children: he saw girls building low enclosures, that contained more people than the high towers the boys built. This suggested to him that women have a heightened sense of inner space and nurturing, partly derived from anatomy. He still thinks so.

Explaining his views on women to TIME Correspondent Ruth Galvin last week. Erikson added: "At the moment, of course, women are sensitive to any reiteration of sexual differences, as if we were trying to put them in their place. I think the energies which so far have been primarily concentrated on nurturing and on maternity can certainly be widened to apply to collective things, to a kind of vision of the world. But as I say in the book, I honestly believe that men's way of doing things has led to a number of dead ends. For women to join the power game would be no solution for them or for the men."

Hard Times for Kids Too

A New Orleans man who had just this plot sharp who had just as wall until it lost consciousness. An Atlanta real estate agent, under severe stress when his commissions dropped drastically, lost his temper and beat his new years who had been been suggest that common strain is an increasingly important factor in child abuse. Says Jerry White, director of protection services for the Goorgia human resources department: "It's a conservice for the contraction of the cont

quence of the economic crisis that people do not think about."

pre dio the timas about To be sure, the figures on child abuse were going up well before the recession, owing partly to better methods of reporting, Indeed, some experts beliefly the time of the time of the time of the tragent causes of death among U.S. children. According to figures kept by the National Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Abuse and Neject, there were 280 cases of child abuse reported per million population in 1972. 48 in 1973 and 380 in 1974.

This increase has been caused, says Dr. Vincent Fontana, head of the New York City task force on child abuse, by "the stresses and strains that our society is suffering today-the frustrations, the poor quality of life, the increase in drug addiction and alcoholism." Fontana. like other child-abuse experts, expects things to get even worse this year with unemployment on the rise. Preliminary figures seem to bear him out. Wayne County, Mich. (Detroit), reported 219 cases in the first two months of 1975 compared with 163 in the same period of 1974. In Fulton County, Ga. (Atlanta), the number of cases jumped from 175 during January 1974 to 335 in January 1975

La Verne Braddock, a caseworker in Wayne County, says she has "never run into so many cases of child abuse in so-called stable families as I have in the past two months. Parents say they can't afford to feed their children. They just lash out at whatever is there."

People who lose their jobs often suffer a loss of self-esteem and experience unfocused rage, and there is also the simple fact that an out-of-work father has to deal with his children more because he is at home. "Suddenly a man who used to see his child an hour or two a day is exposed to him for hours at a time." says Dr. Henry C. Kempe, director of the National Center. The fact that so many mothers now live with a man other than the child's father causes extra strain as well, says Kempe, especially when "the boy friend is out of work, the kid is bugging him, he's not the father and he hates the guy who

No one knows why one person takes ut his frustrations on children and another does not. But to some extent violence runs in families. As Louis Jolyon West, chairman of U.C.L. A psychiatry department, puts it. "There is a remarkable likelihood that parents who batter have been battered themselves as children." Note that the properties of the properties

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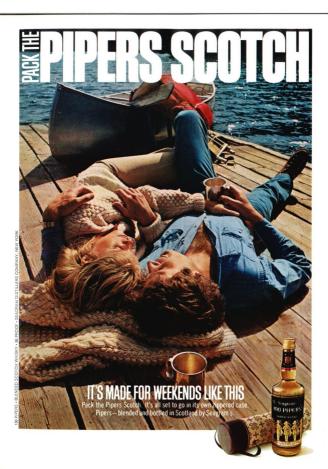
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